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**SOCIALISATION EFFECTS ON POTENTIAL  
INHERITORS' CAREER ORIENTATION AND  
SUCCESSION IN SOUTH ASIAN FAMILY BUSINESSES  
IN SCOTLAND**

**SHARIQ ZIA SHEIKH**



**PhD**

**The University of Edinburgh**

**2014**

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## ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis<sup>1</sup> is to understand the phenomenon of succession among South Asian small family businesses based in Scotland. It explores the reluctance of the younger generation towards choosing family businesses as their careers. The thesis aims to understand the career orientation of potential inheritors leading to succession or a lack of succession by understanding their socialisation process. Thereby it integrates the literatures of family business succession, socialisation and career development. The thesis presents a conceptual framework of the nature/interaction of factors such as personal factors, familial, cultural, those pertaining to the economic environment, education and family business factors, its effects on Career Orientation and choice of Career pathways leading to succession or not among ethnic minority small family enterprises. This is presented in the context of the changing economic, social and cultural environment in which these businesses operate.

Research questions focus on understanding the process of socialisation in a dual cultural context i.e. Asian as well as British, its effects on career orientations and most importantly on Asian family business succession. Although family business succession is presented as a widely researched subject area, this thesis particularly highlights the gaps arising due to an understanding that has specifically developed in the past from the founder or incumbent owners' perspective. This thesis researched from the perspective of the potential inheritor, to understand the process of socialisation and its effects on career orientation leading to succession in Asian family businesses and contributes to fulfilling the theoretical gap in the literature.

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The focus of the empirical research is the Scotland based Asian community owned small retail businesses that are family owned. Succession is important for continuity and failure to succeed are seen to have adverse effects on the long term inter-generational continuity.

At the same time succession among the second generation is looked at as a career choice which is influenced by a career decision making process. Hence a conceptual framework is necessary that looks at the concepts of socialisation, career decision making and succession together.

Having the family and business interdependent in this complex system, it is not just the economic environment that shapes these factors, but also the dynamics within the family, society and community pressures, religion, a conflicting multi-generation perspective on business, culture and life in the UK. These demand a qualitative methodology, using personal interviews with both old and young generations and key informants as well as informal conversations with members of the community for sample selection, data collection and theory generation. The data collection process was guided by the newly formulated theoretical framework. Data was categorised as per themes from the framework and coded into categories in order to understand the process of socialisation and career orientation. This was then used to draw out the various career pathways that the individuals selected providing an understanding of reluctance towards joining the family business.

The findings revealed that integrating the concepts of socialisation, career development and orientation provided a greater understanding of the process of decision making about succession among potential inheritors from Asian small family businesses. However, a number of other themes emerged from the findings, these are an emphasis on work-life balance as key to decision making. In addition, other themes that emerged were increased desire for paternal bonding, status and prestige from chosen careers, boundedness due to Asian stereotype, and parental

or societal pressure and expectations. Moreover, trans-generational entrepreneurial continuity emerged as an important theme in which the older as well as the younger generation realised alternatives to continuing the existing family business and that true succession possibly is the transfer of entrepreneurial skills and abilities, something that the older generation developed and utilised when starting their own businesses as migrants.

The thesis makes a contribution to the theoretical understanding of succession among South Asian family businesses. The findings emphasise the understanding of the succession process as a career decision making process particularly when looked at from the potential inheritors' perspective. It also contributes to the socialisation literature by developing the multi-dimensional understanding of bi-cultural identity formation due to the dual impact of factors such as culture, religion, peers, family and broader society.

This thesis also makes recommendations to policy by suggesting a conscious shift in policy orientation from the traditional first generation migrant to the young generation British Asian child of a migrant who due to their different socialisation has unique needs and orientations. The thesis recommends, on the basis of findings, for policy to be sensitive to the needs of the younger generation and for it to be focused on developing self-employment among this new generation of Asians.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND COLLOQUIAL WORDS

NTC - Newsagent, Tobacconist and Confectioner

BME – Black and Minority Ethnic

FFI – Family Firms Institute

IFB – Institute of Family Business

GEM – Global Entrepreneurship Monitor

*Baradari* – Extra familial kinship group (also used to refer to local Asian community)

*Desi* – A term used to describe a person from countryside or usually someone from the Indian sub-continent

*Gora* – term used by Asians to describe a person of European or white ethnicity

*Izzat* – Honour (also used to describe status or prestige)

*Rishta* – A match for the purposes of marriage

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Subject of Thesis

This thesis is a contribution to the understanding of effects of socialisation on career orientation of children from family business backgrounds and its effects on succession. Particularly researching the South Asian family businesses in Scotland, this thesis aims to explore the processes of socialisation that children in family business environments undergo and its effects on their career orientation.

The last three decades has seen research in family businesses increase manifold and with this the acknowledgement of family business as a unique type of business organisation. The interaction between two domains of family and business makes it an interesting field of study not only from the academic but also from practitioners as well as policy perspective. The contribution of the family business to the economy and society is well known. Family firms contribute to the tax base, generate employment, produce well trained and well-rounded managers and are a breeding ground for entrepreneurial activity.

In the stages of a family business life cycle, perhaps the most important event is the founding of the business. It can be said that all new businesses are family businesses or conversely, that a new start up is often only a company owned and managed by an individual. As time goes by, either immediately after incorporation or over a period of time as the organisation evolves and develops, based on the entrepreneur's goals and objectives, does a company either remains just a company owned by that individual or transforms itself into a family owned and/ or family managed enterprise. From the entrepreneur's point of view the continuity of the business, may or may not be a concern, depending on the reward he/ she may get by exiting the company. However, from the society's view point continuity may have a far greater significance. This importance can be easily

deduced by looking at the important role that a family business plays in the economy and the society at large. However, in the case where a family is involved in either ownership or management or both, the continuity of this enterprise is an important and significant consideration, not only because of the financial insurance that the longevity of the company may provide to the family but also the employment it may generate over time for members of the business family. Succession in a family business then is an important phenomenon. If successful, the succession may result in the company operating for a longer period – decades, or even centuries, and providing sustained benefits to the family and to society.

Continuity of a business over generations is dependent on the successful inter-generational succession of the company. Some of the questions that can be asked at this stage are –Is succession a goal of the family enterprise and –Does successful succession ensure continuity? The answers to these questions, at this stage, may seem an obvious ‘yes’, however, in order to corroborate this there is a need for further investigation as it may or may not be true. Similarly, however, the answer to the following questions may not be straight forward as answers to the above questions – Is succession a one off event that happens every few years in a company; like a change of guard? Or – Is it a process that the company undergoes on a continual basis? Previous research on succession has looked at both perspectives (Beckhard & Dyer, 1983; Handler & Kram, 1988; Lansberg, 1983) and it is well accepted by family business commentators that succession needs to be properly planned; and that companies that leave it too late suffer uncertain futures including complete demise of the business. This raises further questions as to who are the persons involved in this planning process – like family members, non-family members, consultants, accountants, business advisors etc.

This research builds up on previous research conducted on succession in family businesses by (Lansberg, 1983; Handler, 1989; Birley, 1986; Birley et al, 1999; Stavrou & Swiercz, 1998), research on ethnic entrepreneurship by (Waldinger et al, 1990; Jones et al, 1992; Jones & Ram, 2003; Volery, 2007; Basu,

1998; McEvoy et al, 1982) and research on ethnic family business succession and on second generation of British Asians by Janjuha-Jivraj & Woods, 2002; Bachkaniwala et al, 1998; Dhaliwal, 2004).

## 1.2 Motivation and Background of Research

This thesis was initiated by the researcher's own experiences in interacting with members of the Asian community in Edinburgh and elsewhere. While working for the Scottish Institute for Enterprise (SIE) as a student Entrepreneurship Intern, the job offered the opportunity to interact with a number of university students aspiring to be entrepreneurs. In the course of this employment with SIE the researcher had the chance to interact with a number of other organisations that were promoting Entrepreneurship. Interactions during this employment brought the awareness that many of the second generation Asians who were born and brought up in Britain and from family business backgrounds were choosing varied career paths including many who were very 'reluctant' to join their family run businesses. These children were from those business families in which the older generation had migrated from India, Pakistan or Bangladesh and started small businesses. Later after a number of other interactions with members of the Asian community across Scotland it was realised that Asian business community was currently undergoing a period of transition in which the businesses started in the 1980 and 1990s by the Asian immigrant first generation had reached a stage where the generation of their offspring born and brought up in UK were of the age where they could potentially make a decision about their careers. This decision would eventually affect the long term future of not just the family business but also of the future of the Asian community in Britain in general. Family business succession in these Asian businesses was an important issue. Succession, understood as one of the career choices for the young generation however, is an event of importance not just for the Asian small family run businesses in the United Kingdom but also among family businesses all over the world.

### 1.3 Aims and Objectives of Research

The overall aim of this study is to enhance our understanding regarding the process of succession in family businesses. This is done by studying the Asian small family business community in Scotland. Although ethnic entrepreneurship is a widely researched field of study, it has remained on the periphery of the family business literature in general. Also succession in Asian family businesses has been an under-researched area. First of all a review of the literature in the fields of family business research including research on succession and ethnic entrepreneurship is undertaken. Also because succession is tried to be understood from a fresh perspective i.e. from the perspective of the second generation or the potential inheritors, it is considered as a career decision for the youngster in which joining the family business is one of a number of other alternatives. Research on career development suggests that the decision of career is based on a number of factors such as internal and external environments, influence of family members, influence of peers, perception of their own abilities as well as the opportunities in the labour market (Ginzberg and Associates 1951; Super, 1960; Holland & Boulton, 1984; White, 1967). The process of growing up in a family business environment and in a dual culture, of Asian as well as British, forms part of the environment that the children grow up in and will have an influence on their decisions about career which will eventually have an impact on the continuity of the family run business.

Therefore, the aim of this study as well as one of its main contributions is the attempt at understanding the process of socialisation and career development, its effects on career orientation and succession in family businesses form the three distinct areas i.e. the concepts of socialisation from a sociological perspective, career development from a vocational psychology perspective and succession from a family business perspective that this present research aimed to explore. This followed a process of a literature review that allowed a an initial conceptual representation or a framework to be put together that helped in guiding the methodology, data collection and analysis phases of this research.

Succession, so far, has been mostly looked at from the founder's perspective or at best from the firm's perspective as to what the founder/ present generation owner-manager of the family business wants his children to do or what, he thinks, is best for the future of the firm. As (Birley, 1986) and others have pointed out that most writers take the perspective of the founder or the incumbent owner i.e. the current owner of the firm and she developed the view that the inheritors view is also equally, if not more, important in choosing whether they want to join the business or not. This research is based on two basic assumptions that succession is an automatic process and that the owner wants his children to join the firm. Sue Birley in 1986, while disputing these underlying assumptions asked a few questions that may still be relevant today.

- Are the children interested in the firm and do they wish to pledge their futures to it?
- Does the owner wish to pass on the firm to his children?
- At what point in their career does a child wish to join the firm?

#### **1.4 The Role of Family Business in Economy and Society**

Family businesses have long served as the backbone of ancient economies and civilisations, as well as played a significant role in the development of western civilisation (Bird et al, 2002). The field of family business research is a fairly new and a developing field relative to overall business and management research, however, the practice of family run businesses have been a common occurrence throughout the ancient as well as modern world. There have been evidences of family businesses as far back as the 500AD. There are seven firms in Japan that are a 1000 years old (Tokyo Shoko Research, 2009) and there are more than 21,000 firms that have existed for over 200 years. The world's oldest firm until a few years ago Kango Gumi, a Japanese temple construction firm, which only closed down in 2006 lasted 40 generations after starting business operations in 500A.D. However, these emphatic figures of long term continuity mentioned above are not representative of family businesses as a whole. Only a third of all family businesses continue in the second generation, about 10% in the third and about 4% in the



fourth (Birley, 2001; Pistrui et al, 2010). Long term continuity in family businesses is not a wide spread phenomenon and, although, family members working together is one of the world's oldest business models, enduring operation is more elusive (Webber, 2008). It is no surprise then that succession in family businesses has been the most prolific area of research in Family Business.

Succession has mostly been seen as merely a process of transfer of control and ownership from one generation to another and the long term continuity and success (or failure) of the business is generally seen as based on successfully (or unsuccessfully) in implementing this transfer. Research does highlight the need for succession planning of the above type; however, it does not show any clear pathway about what socialisation processes the new generation undergo, which might have an effect on succession and the desired inter-generational continuity of the family business.

The role and importance of family businesses to an economy is well researched and documented. Family businesses form a back bone of the small business economy of a nation. Nearly two-thirds of all small businesses in the world are family businesses. They are reputed to create wealth and deliver benefits through employment generation and the support that they provide to our local communities. The specific value generated by family firms in the UK and its contributions to the society are discussed in detail in the literature review section of this thesis. At this stage, it is clear that family businesses are important to the economy not only because its participation in wealth creation in terms of the revenues they generate but also its serving as a breeding ground for future entrepreneurial talent and the social wealth it generates for the society in terms of long term employment and community service.

The following words make clear the contribution that a family may have on the aspirations of a new and potential entrepreneur and on the start-up process itself,

*"Families create, indeed breed, entrepreneurs by giving them education, values, and experience. Later, families contribute financial and human resources to the entrepreneur's ventures-ultimately linking forever the Entrepreneur's and the family's viability".*

(Rogoff and Heck, 2003:564)

However, although this feasibility is desirable the viability is not always sustainable across generations and hence there are questions about the methods that are used to transform the founder's intentions for business continuity into successful succession.

The above statistics show very well the positive contributions of family business to the economy and society. However, figures also reveal that nearly 77% of all family firms in the SME sector are controlled by the first generation, 10 per cent by the second and 6% together by first and second generation. Overall it is widely believed, though studies are surprisingly few, that about a third (33%) reaches the second generation and only about one tenth (10%) reaches the 3rd generation. Other research literature on Family Businesses across the world also supports these numbers. It is also noted that the average life span of a family business is about 24 years (Pistrui et al, 2010) and that only a third survive into the second generation (Birley, 1999) and only about 10% in the third generation and about 3% into the fourth Generation. The survival, and continuity, of firms to subsequent generations is, therefore, of some concern (Rosa & Balunywa, 2008). It can be safely said, from the above observations, that family firms are of great significance to an economy and society and their survival is widely regarded as very important. It is important to note that many families consider it to be a necessity to sustain the business across generations, which makes it unique and distinct from other forms of businesses. It is therefore no surprise that the continuation of these firms is of prime significance to researchers, policy makers and to the families themselves.

The lack of continuity of many family businesses has been attributed to various reasons such as the desires and attitudes of the younger generation and the reluctance of some parents to pass down a difficult and insecure business (Birley, 1986), resistance towards succession at various levels viz individual, group, organisational or environmental (Handler & Kram, 1988), lack of succession planning (Lansberg, 1988). Most of these and other studies have shown lack of succession planning as the major reason why there is a high rate of attrition among family businesses.

As mentioned earlier, succession planning has been a major focus in the research relating to family business succession (Handler & Kram, 1988). Much of the family business literature seems to indicate that family businesses are poor at planning succession, and more would survive if the succession was better planned. Some of the assumptions that underpin this widespread view is that attrition i.e. failure to survive across generations is wasteful and bad, as closure of a family business has a negative undesirable effect on the economy and society and on the family itself. It is also assumed that someone in the younger generation is willing and happy to take over as successor and that the founders or the current leaders of a family business *want* the younger generation to take over. These assumptions can be challenged. Research by Handler & Kram (1988) suggests that there is a high resistance towards succession within family businesses that leads to these high attrition rates. This is clear, they argue, when succession is looked at from a multi-level perspective of the founder, family, organisation and environment, suggesting that it is not just the founder or the potential next generation heir who has a say in the successful continuity of the business.

Firstly one could argue that “only” 33% survive into the 2nd generation is actually very positive, when one considers the reported high failure rates of businesses in general, especially in the first 5 years after start-up. “The small firm is essentially short lived, many cease to exist within the first two years, and only a few survive beyond 5 years (Birley, 1986). Even corporate businesses have on

average only a life span of 30 years. So, to get 33% surviving in the second generation is, in fact, remarkable. This comparatively high survival rate across generations suggests that family businesses have developed mechanisms of internal renewal to enable them to maintain profitability over such a long time. This implies that to survive requires a highly developed capacity for entrepreneurship. How do family businesses manage to impart these entrepreneurial attitudes and skills to subsequent generations?

Conversely where family businesses fail to survive, the assumption that this is due to an absence of succession planning or poor management can also be challenged. In many cases the family business may be old, no longer profitable, redundant and tired. It may not be worth passing on. Handler and Kram (1988) suggest that a non-conducive environment for example; a sector affected by the pressures of recession may not be a viable vehicle for the next generation to consider useful. The younger generation may feel that they need to break away to access more promising opportunities either in work or in starting their own ventures. This again implies that they have developed an entrepreneurial spirit, but that they are directing it towards alternative career paths. Once again this begs the question of how these entrepreneurial processes are socialised within the family business which in turn has an effect on their career orientations.

Research by Sue Birley, show that a significant proportion of family business parents do not wish their children to take over, and that this is matched by an equally significant proportion of children that are reluctant to take over the family business (Birley, 1986). According to Birley (2001), there have been numerous instances in which the owners as well as their children have been unhappy of the aspects of family business and much of it is down to the attitudes of the owner-manager towards both family and business. She divided all business owner-managers in three main clusters; The *Family Out* cluster, *Family In* cluster and the *Family Jugglers*. She further adds that the *Family In* group are those who prefer children to be involved in the business at an early age and that successors to

be chosen from within the family, The *Family Out* group are those with views diametrically opposite i.e. they want their children to opt for careers outside the realm of their family businesses (possibly the case of South Asians immigrants settled in Britain) and the *Family Jugglers*; those who did not express strong views on any of the issues. She also noted that children are often educated beyond the level of their parents and that they may have expanded horizons, be uninterested in a business career at all, much less one in the family business. But as noted above she also observed that most empirical studies take the perspective of the entrepreneur or the owner-manager. Birley (1986) suggests that the succession process be looked at not only from the firms or the owner-managers perspective but also from the point of view of the potential inheritor.

Stavrou & Swiercz (1998) conducted a similar study in which they proposed an 'Intergenerational Transition Decision Process Model' which can be used to determine children's 'intent to join' based on their attitudes and perceptions of the family and the firm. Birley (2002), concluded that children of owner-managers hold very similar attitudes to that of their children, that Family In and Family Out clusters are robust across cultures and generations. However, it also concludes that it is not necessary that the children who are in the Family In cluster will definitely join the business or that those children who are in the Family Out cluster will not join the business. It is therefore important to conduct further research on the relationship between attitudes and intentions, about how the attitudes and perceptions of children are shaped up over the years through the environment, both of the family and the business; hence it has been proposed in this thesis that it is important to first understand the socialisation processes that shape these attitudes and perceptions.

There has been surprisingly little research on entrepreneurial socialisation processes within business families. It has been assumed that family businesses are natural breeding grounds for the next generation of entrepreneurs, without critically examining this assumption. Research has shown that people who start

businesses are much more likely to have parents and grandparents who have also been in business. This has been mainly suggested in the earlier observations that people with self-employed parents are more likely to become self-employed than those with parents in employment (Rosa, 1989). This implies that they do act as entrepreneurial role models, who provide motivation for children to consider an entrepreneurial career, and even go further in teaching entrepreneurship skills, and providing additional resources to support their business adventures. However the precise mechanisms and workings of this entrepreneurial process have not been researched in much depth.

In this thesis the relationship between socialisation, career development and succession is studied. It is argued that succession is a process rather than a one off event in the life cycle stages of a family business. It is also argued that by understanding the socialisation and career development process we can develop a clearer understanding of the process of succession. From the inheritors view point, succession i.e. choosing family business over other forms of employment is an important decision, as this decision will ultimately define what the person might do in their life or in other words what career paths they may choose. This decision making process could be understood in the light of career choices that the person undergoes. Socialisation, in terms of being raised in a business family, effects of family and society, their education, opportunities in the labour market, is a process and so is career development.

The subject of 'Occupational Choices' in the field of vocational psychology is an area of research from where understanding of young generations' career decision making could be understood. Research on career choice theory may be used to shed light on the issues about socialisation and succession among Family Businesses. One of the classical studies carried out by Ginzberg and associates in 1951, explains through their theory of occupational choice, as it being a developmental process i.e. a series of decisions made over a period of years, is irreversible and ends up in a compromise between individual abilities and

opportunities in the labour market. Ginzberg et al (1951), go on to describe the decision making process as spread out over a number of years starting from early childhood to initial stages of employment. Blau et al (1956), have considered a more inclusive framework in which social interactions (experiences) are considered as an essential part of an individual's development and occupational choices are a compromise between preferences and expectations that are acquired through and modified through social experiences. White (1967) has noted that this process is mediated by personal factors and environmental factors such as degree of self-knowledge and quality of occupational information, social class, family and social pressures, and limitations of socio-economic environment. The literature review section of this thesis deals with this subject in depth and analyses how socialisation can be understood through career choice theories and how then it affects succession in a family business.

To shed light on these issues, the South Asian community, and mainly the Pakistani community in the Scotland was chosen as an interesting context to study entrepreneurial socialisation practises. Firstly the Pakistani community has a strong popular reputation of being very entrepreneurial, with many successful businesses having emerged from 1st generation immigrants who often entered the UK with minimal financial capital combined with a lack of educational and other skills like communication or language skills, deemed important to be successful in the business world. Many of these pioneering entrepreneurs have developed substantial businesses. These businesses have recently been or are now at a stage when the second or even third generation could take over. In this particular business scenario, however, there has been a major shift. Succession and ownership is interwoven with complex family relationships and also to the socialisation process that the youngsters undergo, both within the family and in the outside world. Many of the young generation South Asians, the children of Immigrant Entrepreneurs are showing 'reluctance' to join their family's businesses. This provides an interesting context to examine in detail how far the

original entrepreneurial attitudes and skills are being passed on to the new generations.

The initial objective in choosing to research this topic stems from my personal interactions with members of the Asian community over a number of years, as mentioned earlier in this chapter and from the curiosity that I developed as a result of these interactions, to understand the phenomenon of 'reluctance' observed among the young generation British Pakistanis about choosing their family businesses as their pre-occupation. It was particularly observed that many of them were commonly choosing diversified occupational paths as against their parents' – predominantly father's – occupation of running small businesses. This particular observation led to formulating some of the initial questions for the present research: Is there a potential inter-generational conflict with regards to diversified occupational choices that the children of older generation Asian immigrants are currently making? Or is it rather that the older generation migrant family business owners themselves may not want their children (second generation) to join their family businesses? Or do they view their children's diversified occupational choices as efforts to integrate and assimilate into the wider British Society?

Although a handful of researchers have identified the need to research the determinants of occupational choice in the case of young generation British Asians of family business background there is no actual research carried out on this generation from the Pakistani community. As a result, we are left with absolutely no knowledge of the reasons behind career choices and decision making among this community and their attitudes towards their family businesses.

As mentioned above, my initial interactions with individuals of both generations indicate a reluctance, both active and passive, to join their family businesses. Deakins et al (2005) highlight that even in the cases where the second generation wishes to continue with the family business they may have different



attitudes. If this is so, the higher than average rate of self-employment among Asians could be a transient phenomenon (Bachkaniwala et al, 1998). Succession planning literature in the field of South Asian family businesses identify this phase (Janjuha-Jivraj & Woods, 2002; Bachkaniwala et al, 1998; Dhaliwal, 2004).

As Janjuha-Jivraj and Woods (2002), stated,

*"They (Young Generation) have grown up and experienced education and socialisation in the West, resulting in attitudes that are a combination of influences from their parents, the education system, their peer group and the media"*

## 1.5 Research Questions

As mentioned above, most of the literature on South Asians in Britain focuses on the aspect of ethnic self-employment by the first generation and how they have made a success of their stay in this country. However, there is a lack of research about the impact that these businesses and the young generations' being born and brought up in a mixed cultural context have had on the young generations' life views and particularly their views on their career choices. About the community in question, the South Asian community, it is important to understand their views about their lives in Britain as migrants or children of migrants based on the meaning that they attach to their life experiences and the way they negotiate with their situations, like the social discrimination they face or their perspective of the wider British society's image of their community as an enterprising community, the young generation members' view of their future and the occupations that will help them to fulfil their aspirations or how and whether or not they aspire to integrate in the wider British society at all. The research questions that this thesis aims to answer are as follows:

- What socialisation processes does the young South Asian from family business backgrounds undergo?
- What is the effect of Socialisation on career outcomes among second generation British Asians of family business background?
- What is the effect of socialisation and career orientation on the Family Business Succession?

These questions are broadly aimed at understanding (a) What makes some children stay on to run the family business? (b) What makes others abandon an entrepreneurial career to take up a career in employment? (c) What makes others abandon their family business, but still start businesses of their own?

First, this is done by understanding the socialisation process that the children undergo and how it affects their career decision making process. Little is known about the life of the generation that is born and brought up in the UK. It is generally, though not accurately, assumed that the second generation displays similar characteristics to the first generation. This means that the entire Asian population is looked at as homogenous, regardless of their generational differences. This particular assumption is challenged with the objective of exploring the lives of the young generation born and brought up in the UK to Asian migrant parents. This will help to trace out the similarities and differences among the two generations and will create a clear picture of their lifestyles and characteristics. Not only the socialisation process is explored in-depth, but also how it affects the youngsters' career development. From the literature review it was expressed that there are similar agents and institutions that influence socialisation and career development and therefore these two processes were explored together.

Second, the research attempts to investigate the phenomenon of perceived 'reluctance' among young British Asians towards joining their family's businesses. Although it was observed that there is a phenomenon of 'reluctance' among the young generation from small family business backgrounds towards joining the business, however it needed to be explored whether this was true and what were the factors that were responsible for it. This reluctance was aimed to be explored from not only the young generation which displays this reluctance but also from the older generations' perspective as to how do they perceive this attitude towards the family's business.

Third, it is attempted to understand how the processes of socialisation and career development and the subsequent career orientation of the second generation may have an influence on the succession in Asian small family businesses. A conceptual framework is developed that theoretically represents how Career Orientation, that is an outcome of socialisation and career development, might influence the choice of career pathways and how that might have an effect on Succession in Asian small family businesses. Career Orientation is taken to be a broader concept generally understood as the development of beliefs and attitudes towards specific career alternatives and preferences towards specific career opportunities. The different factors that affect career orientation and the alternative pathways that are shaped by these are represented in an integrated conceptual framework.

## 1.6 Methodology Overview

This PhD thesis addresses the issues of succession with particular emphasis on socialisation patterns of potential family business heirs, their career development process and its effect on their career orientation and succession. To shed light on these issues the Pakistani South Asian community in Scotland was chosen as an interesting context to study entrepreneurial socialisation practises and its effect on varied career choices that the second generation is currently undertaking. Based on over two years of fieldwork among the Pakistani immigrant communities settled in various parts of Scotland, this project engages with the current dynamics of the small family businesses and its practicability for trans-generational continuity in the UK. A Qualitative Inductive methodological approach was adopted within an interpretive epistemological framework. The research employs a triangulation of data sources. A total of 21 interviews were conducted which are divided as follows: three (3) from first generation, thirteen (13) from second generation and five (5) key informants. The data collected for this project is in the form of in-depth life history interviews, personal in-depth interviews in addition to observations about the community on a regular basis. This is done by

integrating in the social spaces that are used by members of this community both young and old.

In this thesis, it is argued that an understanding of the issues about succession in Family Businesses cannot be complete without having a deep understanding of the socialisation process of the youngsters from family business backgrounds. Also the link between socialisation and succession cannot be understood without developing an understanding of the effects of socialisation on the youngsters' career development process. It is seen that the socialisation of youngsters is a multifaceted process, mainly because of the unique background of their parents' migration from Pakistan, the issues about race, the effects of the family business, resulting in the development of a mixed or uncertain self-identity, perceptions about the British society and their place in it and its effects on their choice of careers thereby having an effect on the future of their family businesses in particular and of the future of Pakistani and other South Asian businesses in Britain in general. The multiple external influences like media, debates about multiculturalism (mainly the 'living in two cultures' idea) and its benefits or disadvantages, race relations, and questioning their national identity of being British or Asian or both, needs to be taken into account and my thesis locates the existing explanations about socialisation and succession and goes one step forward in establishing the factors that influence career decision making or career orientation. In order to understand the complexity of the reality as interpreted by the young generation of Pakistanis from family business backgrounds, a life history method of interviewing was chosen. This was a completely respondent led conversational process in which the participant was asked to elaborate when certain events of potential significance were narrated. The interviews were simultaneously transcribed and the coding process was started. The simultaneous analysis helped to develop an emerging understanding of the process of socialisation and career development and its effects on succession.

## 1.7 Overview of the Thesis Chapters

The thesis is divided into seven chapters.

Chapter One: Introduction

Chapter Two: Family Business Continuity and Succession (Literature Review 1)

Chapter Three: Integrating Socialisation and Career Development Theories into Family Business Succession (Literature Review 2)

Chapter Four: Methodology

Chapter Five: Presentation of Findings

Chapter Six: Analysis and Discussion

Chapter Seven: Conclusions

Below is a brief summary of what each of the chapters present.

### **Chapter One: Introduction**

This chapter presents an overview of the thesis and sets the scene by giving a background and importance of the study, its aims and objectives, some important parts of the literature and how the argument is developed about why the current research is important in enhancing our understanding of succession in family businesses. It also looks at the research questions and provides an overview of the methodological approach followed in conducting this research.

### **Chapter Two: Family Business Continuity and Succession**

The main aim of this chapter is to present a review of the literature pertaining to family business continuity and succession. In addition, family business literature is reviewed to understand the various theoretical approaches underpinning family business research and to understand the definition of a family business. The different aspects reviewed are: the importance and contribution of family businesses to the economy and society; definitional issues; the theories of family business and family business succession. Secondly, the literature on ethnic

Asian family businesses is explored and succession is highlighted as an important issue with regards to continuity. Research gaps are identified and field observations are presented as a basis of identifying emerging issues. The chapter concludes with identifying socialisation as critical to understand the potential inheritors' view towards career intentions and their attitudes toward succession.

### **Chapter Three: Integrating Socialisation and Career development Theories with Succession**

Based on the previous chapter in which socialisation and career development emerged as key concepts to understand succession from the potential inheritors' perspective, this chapter explored literatures from the fields of sociology and vocational psychology in order to arrive at a conceptual framework that can be used to guide the methodology, research design, data collection and analysis stages. The agents of socialisation and career development were explored and it was found that these agents were the same and collectively may have an impact on the career intentions. Based on this understanding an integrated theoretical framework was developed.

### **Chapter Four: Methodology**

This chapter discusses the methodological framework or paradigm that is adopted for this research. A detailed discussion of the philosophical underpinnings of the research such as ontological considerations i.e. if reality is objective or subjective, epistemological considerations i.e. paradigms such as positivism or interpretivism and the methodological considerations i.e. the relationship between theory and research and whether the research process is deductive or inductive is presented. These philosophical deliberations are presented alongside practical considerations for the research and the decision is based on the criteria of 'paradigm of choices' and 'methodological appropriateness'. Inductive qualitative methodology using in-depth life history interview method is chosen for data

collection. Finally ethical frameworks followed to guide the researcher in his pursuit of research are discussed.

### **Chapter Five: Presentation of Findings**

This chapter presents the interview data which is divided according to the codes developed as an outcome of the analysis of the interview transcripts. The data is divided primarily according to the three major themes such as Socialisation, Career Orientation and Succession. The data is further divided into the categories or codes as identified from the interviews. Data is presented according to these codes along with direct quotations from the participants' interviews.

### **Chapter Six: Analysis and Discussion**

This chapter begins with discussing the key emerging categories that shed light on the deeper understanding developed about the Succession process by understanding the Socialisation process and its effect on Career Orientation. This is followed by a discussion of the empirical findings with the literature and in order to present a comprehensive understanding and interpretation of the research problem. A conceptual framework is presented as a representation of the understanding of the problem.

### **Chapter Seven: Conclusions and Recommendations**

This chapter presents the conclusions drawn from the research and the contribution that this research activity makes to the overall understanding of the research problem i.e. Succession in Family Businesses. It also presents a discussion about how the aims and objectives of this research are fulfilled. Finally, it brings together the understandings from this research and provides recommendations for future research.

## CHAPTER TWO: FAMILY BUSINESS CONTINUITY AND SUCCESSION

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the Family Business literature. This section highlights the aspect of continuity of family firms and explains successful succession to be the most important factor in maintaining continuity. It attempts to provide answers to three broad questions. The first is what is the significance of family business and their continuity to the economy and society in general, the definitions of a family business and the theoretical foundations that shape this important field of research. The second is about how successful succession has been seen as the basis of continuity. The third is about the foundations of Asian Family and Ethnic Entrepreneurship. These bodies of literature are explored to understand research about succession in family businesses and particularly in Asian family businesses. It also highlights limitations of previous research and the research gaps that this research aims to fulfil.

These questions are answered by analysing the theoretical underpinnings that explain family business research by reviewing the extant literature in Family business and succession and its underlying factors. The research identifies gaps in the understanding of succession, specifically within the context of Asian Family Businesses. This initial literature review and analysis helped to develop an initial conceptual framework which led to the pilot study and helped to hone the conceptual framework in chapter three.

The remaining chapter is organised as follows: section 2.2 discusses family business and succession broadly, the significance of family businesses and its continuity to the economy and the society. It also discusses the definitions of family business and addresses the issue of a lack of definitional clarity. This section also discusses the theoretical foundations of family business research. Section 2.4



reviews research on family business continuity and succession in greater depth followed by section 2.5 that reviews literature pertaining Asian family businesses and specifically discusses this area in terms of a multi-generational perspective. The background to ethnic entrepreneurship is explored. Section 2.6 presents the limitations of the family business literature in fully explaining succession and identifies research gaps. Field observations are described to initially understand the applicability of family business research to the succession Asian family businesses in section 2.7 also presenting the emergent themes from the field observations and highlights new concepts for further literature review. The chapter is summarised in section 2.8.

## 2.2 Family Business Succession

Succession, understood widely as the transfer of ownership and/or control of the family business from one generation to another, is the most important aspect of family business research. Succession represents the most critical issue facing a family business. This has an impact on continuity of the family firm as well as the prosperity and sustainability of the family. In order to choose the most effective leader to take the business forward a proper succession process is most important (Ibrahim et al, 2001). Although important, succession is a complex issue in family businesses because of complicating emotional factors in the incumbent-successor relationship and complex social ties with the family (Dyer, 1986; Lansberg, 1999; Miller, Steier & Le Breton- Miller, 2003).

Howorth & Ali (2001) observed that succession in family firms are an important phenomenon. As Birley (1986) highlighted that there are two important aspects of succession, one, the process of selection the heir and two, the process of transition itself once succession has taken place. Howorth & Ali highlighted three major and interrelated succession themes namely, the interconnectedness of family and business issues, structural forms of business pre and post succession as well as the process of succession itself (2001:233). This third theme is important

and this present study coincides with understanding succession as a 'process' rather than a one-off event in the life stages of a family business. They highlighted the succession process as encompassing planning, selection, founder resistance and preparation of the heir as important components of this process. Though important, succession research has mainly been looked at from the founders or incumbent's perspective keeping in mind the continuity of the family business as most important factor. While 'founder resistance' has been researched and understood to have an important part to play in successful or unsuccessful succession (Kets de Vries, 1993; Howorth & Ali, 2001; Handler, 1989), 'potential heir resistance' towards succession has been overlooked. This study whilst considering succession as important, highlights 'reluctance' as an important phenomenon, one that could potentially derail the succession process and impact the continuity of the family firm as well as the prosperity of the family itself.

This process of transfer of the ownership and management of the family firm from one generation to another is significant to the continuity of the business, as well as indispensable. As Wortman (1994) stated, it is not surprising that the succession process and the problems that emerge in this process dominate the family business literature.

It has been suggested that this process must be initiated very early in the offspring's life (Stavrou, 1999; Ward, 1987; Davis, 1968). This process is prescribed as a three step approach: preparation, integration and awarding them a leadership role in the family business (Stavrou, 1999; Handler, 1989). Similarly, succession planning as a formal process to be carried out within the family has also been suggested (Wortman, 1995; Kets De Vries, 1993; Handler, 1990). In fact, the high attrition rate, as widely cited within the succession and family business literature, could be blamed on a lack of succession planning by businesses early enough in their life stages (Handler, 1989). Figures widely quoted about failure of family businesses that only a third survive in the second generation; a tenth

survive by the third generation, attribute the reason for failure to a lack of succession planning.

Offspring's intention to join the family business, among others has been often cited as a critical reason for failure among family businesses. Offspring life stage (Davis & Tagiuri, 1989; Ward, 1987) and gender and order of birth (Goldberg & Woolridge, 1993) have also been described as factors of a lack of succession. Studies in the past have focused on qualities of successor, family context or the incumbent owner (Le Breton Miller, Miller & Steier, 2004). Successful planning has been defined as 'everything aimed at ensuring the continuity of business through the generations' (Aronoff & Ward, 1992). It is important though to understand how these processes are embedded within the context of the family business itself.

### 2.3 Family Business: Importance, Theoretical Approaches & Definition

Family Businesses exist at the intersection of the two important domains within society and economy i.e. the domains of the 'family' and 'businesses'. This coming together of these two domains creates a unique system with its own limitations and advantages and has become an interesting subject of study. Family Businesses long served as the backbone of ancient economies and civilisations, as well as played a significant role in the development of western civilisation (Bird et al, 2002). However, the field of family business research is considered to be a relatively new field, though, researchers have reported that some of the oldest firms in the world are family firms and that research has been conducted on these firms. Separating family from business, though, is a recent phenomenon as any business was considered a family business. Astrachan (2003) pointed out, that words "Family Business" occasionally appeared in the literature before the 1980s. Aldrich & Cliff (2003) suggested,

*"One hundred years ago, "business" meant "family business", and thus the adjective "family" was redundant. In the interim, the two social institutions have become more highly differentiated from each other. Today scholars studying "family business" feel compelled to use the adjective "family", even though they*

*note that 90-98% of all businesses owned by households are family businesses. The massive socio-historical changes of the past century have led us to think of the two institutions as disconnected systems, needlessly fragmenting the study of each."*

Aldrich & Cliff (2003)

Family business has been considered to be unique due the typical problems that only family firms can have such as due to interference of the family in business affairs or succession i.e. transfer of management and control from generation to generation (Calder, 1961). At the same time family businesses have been shown to be enormously beneficial as family firms serve as breeding grounds of well-rounded management professionals who are sought by large companies.

Some of the strengths or advantages of a family business are the availability of otherwise unobtainable financial and management resources because of family sacrifices, sensitivity to community or social responsibility and a dedicated and loyal internal organisation. Donnelly (1964) defined a family business as 'a business which has been closely identified with at least two generations of a family and when this link has had a mutual influence on a company policy and on the interests and objectives of the family'. Inclusion of literature on other forms of family business organisations such as family business entrepreneurship and Ethnic Family Businesses has established family businesses as a broader field.

Also, succession in family businesses has emerged as an important concept. Previous literature has dealt with this concept in the narrow sense of just the transfer of ownership and control as well as from the narrower perspective of the founder or the incumbent owner. Succession within Asian family businesses have received less attention by researchers.

The sections below reviews the importance of the field of family business as well as the various theoretical approaches that have been developed to study them.

### 2.3.1 Importance of Family Business to Economy and Society

Family Businesses are an important phenomenon and plays an important role both in society and economy. Family businesses form a back bone of the small business economy of a nation. Nearly 2/3rd of all small businesses in the world are family businesses. In the United Kingdom also family firms have been a significant contributor.

The importance of family firms is enormous in our society and family firms are an important component of the UK Private Sector. They create wealth and deliver benefits through employment generation and the support that they provide to our local communities. This is according to the February 2008 report published by 'The Institute of Family Businesses (IFB)' in the United Kingdom titled, 'The UK Family Business Sector'. The contribution that family firms make to the UK economy and society is significant. Nearly 65 per cent (nearly 2/3rd) of all private sector firms are family firms (70 per cent according to IFERA) i.e. about 3 million of the 4.6 million firms and contributing to about 31 per cent of overall GDP and 38 per cent of Private Sector GDP i.e. nearly £1065 billion and providing employment to nearly 42 per cent of the private sector employment i.e. about nine and a half million people. Also most of these firms are micro (0-9 employees), small (10-49 employees) and medium (50-249 employees) enterprises, SMEs (about 56 per cent of all family firms in the UK are self-employed and employing 'zero' employees).

The most important contribution of the family business sector, as the report recognises, is not only the direct contribution made through output and employment but also it's serving as a breeding ground for entrepreneurial talent, used both in contributing to long term inter-generational continuity of their family firms or promoting new start-ups, its contribution to tax revenues and boosting both performance and stability of the corporate sector. It is like a backbone running right through the economy.

On the contributions mentioned above, a 2006 Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) report on family businesses found that 13 per cent of family firms surveyed had developed out of existing family firms. The report also found that family based start-ups are better funded, and use twice the amount of initial finance compared with non-family start-ups. In terms of contribution to taxes family firms contributed nearly £73 billion of the £485 billion i.e. 15 per cent of all taxes collected from all sources in 2006/07. It is clear that the role of business families is an important aspect. The following words make clear the contribution that a family may have on the aspirations of a new and potential entrepreneur and on the start-up process itself, "Families, create, indeed breed, entrepreneurs by giving them education, values, and experience. Later, families contribute financial and human resources to the entrepreneurs' ventures, ultimately linking forever the entrepreneur's and the family's viability" (Rogoff & Heck, 2003:564).

Family firms, from the above observations, are of great significance to an economy and their survival is therefore very important. It is important to note that a family business has a necessity to sustain itself across generations, which makes it unique and distinct from other forms of businesses. It is therefore no surprise that the continuation of these firms is of prime significance.

### 2.3.2 Theoretical approaches to understand family businesses

Family Business research is unique due to the interaction between the two entities of family and business. The dual systems approach (Lansberg, 1983) has been the most common approach. These approaches all considered that the two entities–family and firm–are interlinked. Hollander & Elman (1988) highlighted various other approaches to understand family businesses. These are rational approach, which calls for the separation of the two systems, the life stages approach, focusing on the phases and stages of growth of a family business, and the systems approach, which considered that there are two systems at work, the family system and the business system, and events in one system affects the other.

One of the fundamental problems that family businesses face is their existence on the boundaries of two qualitatively different social institutions-the family and the business (Lansberg, 1983). As the business grows and matures, the institutional overlap between family and firm begins to generate conflicts in the organisation. This approach emphasises the interactions between the two sets of institutions that define its uniqueness. However, the influence of one system over the other cannot be overlooked. According to Davis (1983), "family businesses are those whose policy and direction are subject to significant influence by one or more family units". This influence, he says, is exercised through ownership and/or management. However, also reported in research is that most of the weaknesses in family businesses were derived from the influence of the family sub-system on the organisational sub-system, thereby resulting in business failure. Traditionally, therefore, practitioners called for the family not to participate in the management. Problems due to separation comes up during transitions, for example, from one generation to the other (Peiser & Wooten, 1983). However, the influence of the family and the business cannot be overlooked and the boundary conditions are overly diffused and permeable (Kepner, 1983) and family members could be looked at as daily border crossers between the domains of family and business.

Much research on family businesses have been from the perspective of the founder. This present study proposed to look at alternative viewpoints such as the inheritor's perspective. Previous research has focused on the founder's personality (McLelland, 1961) and the psychoanalytic tradition (Kets De Vries, 1977). One of the problems facing succession is due to the attachment of the founder to the business (Levinson, 1971).

This poses conflicts mainly when the time for intergenerational transition or succession of the business occurs. It was observed that so long as the founder is there all is well, however, when the founder retires or suddenly leaves the business due to illness or death, ambiguity and chaos sets in (Beckhard & Dyer, 1983).

Succession is impacted by the transitions between the three stages of growth of a family business i.e. survival, success and take-off (Peiser & Wooten, 1983). These stages, they argue, run in parallel with the owner's own life cycle. This is an important area of research in the field of family business studies. Each stage changes the nature of the business and therefore, each stage demands a new style of strategic and management techniques (Ward, 1987).

### 2.3.3 The Resource Based View

It was the resource based view that was thought to have been helpful in the understanding that the pooling of resources within a family that resulted in a competitive advantage substantiating claims of better performance of family firms over non-family firms. Resource based view (RBV) of competitive advantage, as stated by Habbershon & Williams (1999), provides a theoretical framework from the field of strategic management for assessing the competitive advantages of the firm. The advantage, they suggest, comes from a bundle of resources coined as 'familiness', which are distinctive to a firm as a result of family involvement in the business. 'Familiness' is defined as the unique bundle of resources a particular firm has because of the systems interaction between the family, its members and the business.

The resource based view is further corroborated by Habbershon & Williams (1999), in which the researchers inform that the integration of RBV of the firm with systems theory as done by Chua et al (2003). Habbershon & Williams (1999) investigated the positive side of family involvement asserted that the trio of criteria of uniqueness, inseparability and synergism due to the interaction between the systems of 'Individual', 'Family members' and the 'Firm' have not been articulated together before. This, they suggest, provides a theoretical basis for explaining how family firms are different from non-family firms and how that difference might manifest itself in sustainable competitive advantages



(Habbershon & Williams, 1999), a construct that they feel should be used in any theoretical framework that explains the uniqueness of family businesses.

#### 2.3.4 Definition of a Family Business

Any definition needs to be specific as to how it accounts for the various forms of family businesses from small, informal shops to big, formal, public corporations (Handler, 1989). Family businesses are not defined by ownership alone. They are also distinguished by their culture. A family business is one in which the cultural beliefs, goals, and behaviours of the family system intrude in the business system (File, 1995).

This section looks at the definitional issues in the field of family business research and looks at using a broad scope of definitions. One objective, as mentioned above, is to locate the Ethnic Businesses into the mainstream Family Business Literature. In order to successfully do that it is important to first understand if Ethnic Family Businesses fall into the domain of mainstream family Business literature or not. The starting point for that is to have an inclusive definition of a family business. As McEvoy et al (2010) had pointed out that the defining a Family Business is the first and the most obvious challenge and that the challenge still remained and added that to date there is no widely accepted definition of Family Business, although there are various definitions exist in the literature<sup>2</sup>.

As mentioned earlier the degree of family involvement has been the most consistent factor taken to form any definition of a family business. However, a differentiation between Operational and Theoretical Definitions is sought by researchers such as Chrisman et al (2003) and Habbershon & Williams (1999).

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<sup>2</sup> For a detailed list of various definitions of family businesses as well as succession and socialisation see Appendix; page 281. The table of definitions is adapted from (Chrisman et al, 2003).

According to Chrisman et al (2005), there is generally been observed a lack of convergence regarding the definition of family business. The authors demand that family business researchers define the family business before starting their research. Most definitions that are given of family business are operational in nature and serve the purpose, however, a generalised theoretical definition that potentially encompasses all types of family businesses including Ethnic Businesses is needed and only then will the ideological position that the authors propose about all research starting with a common definition may be justified. Any operational definition is bound to do a selective inclusion most popularly based on degree of involvement and other such factors like ownership, succession etc. Notably the Ethnic businesses that form the basis for this research are mostly found in the Small and Micro businesses, mainly the independent shops or takeaways and restaurants. These seldom take strategically planned directions and are subject to macro level regulatory and economic changes. They further proposed that, “there is a need to develop a definition that captures the essence of the family business and, as such, may be used to distinguish the family business, in theory, research and practice from a non-family business”, therefore, they argue, that any theoretical definition should be inclusive rather than exclusive. Therefore the definition proposed by Chrisman et al (2003) is, ‘the vision held for the firm by a family or a small group of families and the intention to shape and pursue this vision, potentially across generations of the same family or group of families’.

Reiterating Howorth et al’s (2006) viewpoint that ‘the absence of consensus is potentially damaging for moving the study of family business forward’ and that a ‘more general and less precise’ definition must be used as a starting point (p229). So according to Howorth et al (2006), a business could be defined as a family business if ‘The family owns enough of the equity to be able to exert control over strategy and also that it is involved in top management positions’. Out of all the other definitions proposed over time these two above definitions brings Ethnic Businesses within the boundaries of the domain of Family Business Research.

## 2.4 Succession

In addition to these the other important theme is succession, as to how the business is passed on to the next generation. Looking at the generally accepted succession rates it would be of concern to see many family firms failing to transcend into the next generation. Most studies in this regard have focussed on the owner managers' views on the family and the business (Birley, 1986). This present thesis particularly argues that the perspective of the successor is equally important in order to understand the succession process and advocates a comprehensive multi-perspective view of succession. A significant multi country study was carried out by Sue Birley and her group in the late 1990s. According to Birley (2001), there have been numerous instances in which the owners as well as their children have been unhappy of the aspects of family business and much of it is down to the attitudes of the owner-manager towards both family and business. She divided all business owner-managers in three main clusters; The Family Out cluster, the Family In cluster and the Family Jugglers. The Family In group are those who prefer children to be involved in the business at an early age and that successors to be chosen from within the family The Family Out group are those with views diametrically opposite and the Family Jugglers are those who did not express strong views on any of the issues.

However, as Rosa & Balunywa (2008) observed, this study only covered what family business owners thought should happen and that there were no grounded studies on the socialisation process within family businesses. A similar earlier observation had resulted in an exploratory study carried out by Sue Birley in 2002. As mentioned above in her previous study, owner managers were divided in their attitudes towards the family and the business and that their children face this conflict too. Upon conducting the research with children of owner manager's intentions towards family business succession, she noted that children are often educated beyond the level of their parents and that they may have expanded horizons, be uninterested in a business career at all, much less one in the family

business. This was an important observation as the outcomes of such deliberations by children have a significant impact on how children perceive and formulate their career choices. This raises questions on whether children choose family businesses as their professions out of parental or societal pressure, do they choose careers in family business out of limited choice in the labour market as family business is an alternative or a fall back option or are they socialised in such a way that favourably inclines them towards or even against choosing family businesses and working with their families as a profession. The answers to these questions are not clearly available and this research endeavours to answer these questions and to elaborate on them and to thereby develop a clear and comprehensive understanding of the family business succession process, that particularly involves the perspective of the potential successor. Sue Birley had first made such an observation and determined that most empirical studies take the perspective of the entrepreneur or the owner-manager. Carrying further the importance of understanding the child's perspective and how their attitudes might have shaped as a result of being socialised in a family business environment a similar study was conducted by Stavrou & Swiercz (1998), in which they proposed a 'Intergenerational Transition Decision Process Model' which can be used to determine children's 'intent to join' based on their attitudes and perceptions of the family and the firm. Sue Birley (2002) concluded that children of owner-managers hold very similar attitudes to that of their children, that Family In and Family Out clusters are robust across cultures and generations. However, it also concludes that it is not necessary that the children who are in the Family In cluster will definitely join the business or that those children who are in the Family Out cluster will not join the business. The categories only give a glimpse into their intentions at a pre-career decision making stage. It is therefore important to conduct further research on the relationship between attitudes and intentions, about how the attitudes and perceptions of children are shaped up over the years through the environment, both of the family and the business.

#### 2.4.1 Family Business Continuity and Succession

As mentioned earlier the contribution of family businesses to the economy and society is very significant, not just in the United Kingdom, but also around the world. Continuity of family firms seems to be a major concern and family conflicts appears to have a bearing on the long term success of the business. As reported earlier, only a third of all family businesses are successfully transferred to the second generation and even fewer in successive generations. One of the reasons for this problem is the far from orderly transition from one generation to the next (Barnes & Hershon, 1976). This is another recurring theme in family business research, particularly in the initial publications i.e. the transfer of power between generations. The problem of succession is raised significantly also in the literature of the 1990s. With more research and subsequent clarifications of the roles of family and its members, the continuity of family businesses and therefore the importance of successful succession have become even more important. Succession is considered to be an acute problem that a family business faces and is one of the most agonising experiences for all parties involved.

Further research on the similar theme of 'family business continuity' was continued to be researched in later years. It was reported that despite the prominence of family firms, leaders of these firms have had difficulty in managing them successfully over time (Beckhard & Dyer, 1983). They recognise four different subsystems that all play a part i.e. the business, the family, the founder and such linking organisations as the board of directors and because leaders of family firms are forced to deal with this complex set of relationships, managing continuity is a difficult task.

They further add that as long as the founder is there all is well, however, when the founder retires or suddenly leaves the business due to illness or death, ambiguity and chaos sets in. The authors suggested a 'Continuity Management Strategy' to be in place much in advance, thus saving the family and the business to

face the effects of such events. Richard Beckhard further added that it was deemed important to expand our understanding of the family firm (Beckhard, 1983). He proposed a conceptual framework that he had used to understand the family firms that he was dealing with at the time. This framework was based on a systems approach in which he identified three systems at work; the family system, the business system and the founder, who heads the other two systems. Succession is identified as a critical issue or a critical conjecture in the life cycle of the family business and he proposed a preventive strategy to overcome this crucial stage by integrating the family into the planning process (Lansberg, 1983).

## 2.5 Asian Family Entrepreneurship

Although there is evidence of some migration of South Asians to Britain before India gained independence from British colonisation in 1947, the major waves of immigration took place after independence and more so in the late 1950s and 1960s. As they came to Britain they brought their own set of values, cultures and traditions along with them, which have now been widely recognised by the host population (Sekhon and Szmigin, 2005). Most South Asian migrants came to Britain after the partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947, however a large influx occurred between 1956 and 1968 (Basu, 1998), later followed by migration of East African Asians who left Kenya, Malawi and Uganda as a result of political upheavals as these countries gained independence (Basu, 1998; Mann, 1992). The bulk of the economic migration took place between the above mentioned period when migrants came to this country to fulfil the labour shortages in the factories and mills mostly in England in Manchester, Huddersfield, and Bradford etc.

The economic depression in the late 1970s led to the closure of many of these factories and these South Asians were left with no jobs and were given a choice by the government to live in the UK or to go back to their home countries. Many of them stayed back in the promise of starting a new life and brought their families along from India, Pakistan or Bangladesh. Many of the earlier migrants

worked as licensed peddlers or worked in the transport corporations. After the closure of mills and factories in the mid-lands there was a surge of intra migration from England to Scotland of these laid off workers in order to fulfil the labour shortages in the bus companies such as the Glasgow Transport Corporation. In fact at one time more than half of the total work force was Asian (Mann, 1992).

Due to their lack of education and constraints of language they faced problems in getting into the mainstream labour market of the day and later when they had made some money, many found self-employment as a means of maintaining their and their family's honour and dignity, characteristics that are paramount to these communities, and a means to offset the discrimination they faced (Janjuha-Jivraj and Woods, 2002). As a result they showed remarkable entrepreneurial ability and have higher business start-up growth rates in Britain, as compared to either the native population or other ethnic minorities. Most of those who started small businesses were mainly News agents, Grocers, or take away owners and so on (Mann, 1992).

The older generation survived through close ties within the community and the culture that was heavily inter woven with religious beliefs (Dhaliwal, 2004) and their abilities to exploit niche, mainly co-ethnic markets (Basu, 1998; Ram, 1997). However, these resulted in long working hours, and led to emotional ties with the business, both mentally and physically (Dhaliwal, 2004). Their creation of successful enterprises and the success that followed is the reason for the recognition of this group of migrants. According to the 1991 census of UK population (as reported in Clark and Drinkwater, 2000), non-whites in general and South Asians in particular have a higher self-employment rate than whites. The south Asians from the subcontinent are estimated to have a Self-employment rate of about 20% as compared to the white Self-employment rate of 12.3%. Basu (1998) explains this growth as remarkable as most Asian immigrants arrived virtually penniless either to satisfy labour shortages or as refugees.

One of the explanations of high self-employment rates among ethnic populations emphasise the disadvantages faced by minorities in the labour market (Clark and Drinkwater, 2000), which is attributed to as a push factor, like Entrepreneurship as a means of overcoming the disadvantage. However, there are other factors like social and historical factors that explain immigrants' business entry, especially the migrants from East Africa, mainly in the 1970s. These factors are identified as pull factors. The push-pull concept is the most widely used explanation for the success of Immigrant Asian groups (Dhaliwal, 2000; Ram, 1997; Basu, 1998). The focus is now shifting to the offspring of this immigrant population who, although share the same ethnicity but are different in many aspects of personality and character. Their children were born and brought up in Britain, and became naturalised British Citizens by birth or due to their parent's British nationality. Due to the difficult time spent by the Older Generation migrants, struggling to survive in a hostile society, the ultimate desire was to give their children a better future (Dhaliwal, 2000), and had aspirations for their children to become well educated and have better opportunities and choices.

Many of the next generation i.e. the Second Generation have now either made their career decisions and have become professionals and many graduated from UK Universities (Dhaliwal, 2004) or have reached a stage of making their career decisions. Three main occupational choices lie ahead of them, one, to join their family businesses, two, to choose self-employment independent of their family businesses with or without support from their families or to enter professional or other jobs, as is the case with most young people independent of a particular ethnicity or background. The young generation are born, brought up and are educated in Britain. Their view of the world and self is shaped not only by their parents' values and traditions but also by the influences of the openness of the British society mainly through school, media and peer groups (Dhaliwal, 2002). Janjuha-Jivraj and Woods (2002), feel that this combination of cultures create a conflict; the merging of the traditional family-unit Asian values and the independent youth culture of UK. How has that conflict manifested itself in the



shape of their attitudes towards their family businesses are the wider subject of this research?

### 2.5.1 Success or Failure: Ethnic Family Businesses in Britain

Research on ethnic minorities in UK has been heavily preoccupied, over the past two decades, with explaining the prominent business presence of ethnic communities originated in the Indian Sub-continent (Ram and Jones, 2007). This surge in research stemmed from the fact that the self-employment rates among South Asians is 20 percent as compared to the national average of 10 percent (1991 Census). Much of the research has focussed on the business entry decision and the resulting success of these enterprises among the Minority Ethnic population.

There are mainly three perspectives about this phenomenon (Fregetto, 2004), the Structural perspective, the Cultural perspective and Interaction Theory. The structural perspective explains the phenomenon as a result of unfavourable factors in the host environment like discrimination in the labour market and coupled with lack of human capital skills like language, and education (Jones et al, 1992; Jones & Ram, 2003). The 'push' factor mentioned above can be explained using the structural theory which takes into consideration the unfavourable environment in which South Asian Ethnic Enterprise in Britain took birth. According to the cultural perspective, ethnic and immigrant groups are endowed with culturally determined features such as dedication to hard work, membership of a strong ethnic community, compliance with social value patterns, solidarity and loyalty (Volery, 2007; Basu, 1998). Basu (1998) further states that these groups are culturally predisposed with entrepreneurial characteristics and properties that brought success to this community and that they would have been successful anywhere. The 'pull' factor mentioned above can be explained using the culturalist perspective. The interaction theory (push-pull theory) attempts to offer a synthesis between the culturalist and structuralist perspective (Mansurel, 2004). According

to Waldinger (1990), ethnic survival strategies can be explained by a dynamic match between local market opportunities and local demand on the one hand and the specific available ethnic resource on the other hand. Basu (1995) explains the higher rates as a result of community cohesion and an entrepreneurial culture in the South Asian community instead of considering social discrimination as a disadvantage resulting in Entrepreneurial activities, a reason given by Jones et al (1992).

### 2.5.2 Succession in Asian Family Businesses

This subject relates particularly to the continuity of Family Businesses and the future of Asians in the UK. Succession is understood to be key to ensure continuity of Asian Family Businesses. It has been pointed out previously in the above sections that succession has so far been understood from the firms' perspective or from the perspective of the founder or the incumbent owner (Birley, 1999). However, this present thesis aims to understand succession from the perspective of the most important element of succession i.e. the potential inheritor himself/ herself. It is aimed that understanding succession from the perspective of the potential inheritor will provide a comprehensive and all round understanding of the concept of succession. However, when looked at from the perspective of the successor, succession ultimately can be understood as one that is affected by the career decision making that the member of the young generation undertakes. Career decision making is understood to be affected by the socialisation that an individual undergoes. Therefore, this thesis aimed to understand succession as one of the outcomes of a career decision making process which is further understood as being oriented by the process of individual socialisation.

The sections below aim to discuss the literature on socialisation and career orientation and also how family business succession can be understood in this new light. Socialisation and career orientation is also understood in the case of Young

generation British Asians and an exploratory framework is developed aimed at guiding the data collection phase of the research. Although some researchers have identified the need to research the determinants of occupational choice in the case of Young Generation British Asians of family business background there is no actual research carried out on this community. As a result, we are left with absolutely no knowledge of the reasons behind career choices and decision making among this community and their attitudes towards their family businesses. As mentioned above, the initial interactions of the researcher with individuals of both Generations indicate a reluctance to join their family businesses. If so, the higher than average rate of Self-employment noticed in this community could be a transient phenomenon (Bachkaniwala et al., 1998). Succession planning literature in the field of South Asian family businesses identifies this phase (Janjuha-Jivraj & Woods, 2002; Bachkaniwala et al., 1998; Dhaliwal, 2004).

As Janjuha-Jivraj and Woods (2002), state,

*"They (Young Generation) have grown up and experienced education and socialisation in the West, resulting in attitudes that are a combination of influences from their parents, the education system, their peer group and the media"*

As mentioned above, most of the literature on South Asians in Britain focuses on the aspect of Ethnic Self Employment by the first generation and how they have made a success of their stay in this country. However, there is a lack of research about the impact that these businesses have had on the young generation. Independent research in the field of Guidance, Counselling and vocational psychology has thrown light on some of the issues surrounding the career decision making among individuals.

## 2.6 Identifying gaps in literature

The preceding literature review shows a focus of family business succession research has been from the founders' or the incumbent owners' perspectives and

the role of the potential inheritor or would be heir has been totally overlooked. Research shows the importance of succession to the firm, however, it is not clear how would the 'would be heir' view succession and its impact on their own life and future and on their families and the business itself.

Le Breton Miller et al (2004) identified that a number of studies, particularly (Dyke et al, 2002; Emley, 1999; Forbes, 1990; Lansberg, 1999) highlighted that there are several processes and factors, arguably vital to successful successions that research has significantly under-emphasized or even ignored. Some of the least mentioned variables in research on succession include variables pertaining to social contexts such as culture or social norms, family values, other family dynamics such as incumbent-successor relationship, successor's personality or needs.

Additionally, there is agreement among researchers such as (Birley, 1999, 2001; Stavrou & Swiercz, 1998) that the potential inheritor perspective must be fully understood in order to develop a full and comprehensive understanding of family business succession. Rosa & Balunywa (2001) further added that the socialisation processes that the children undergo within business families and their potential impact on succession has been completely overlooked and never researched, proposing that understanding these processes are important to understand the background to succession related decision making by the young.

In addition to the above, transformations within the Asian business and society such as changing market regulations, increased competition, expectations from youngsters, higher levels of education, new mixed or dual ethnicity, and a general low uptake of family business as their occupations by the young generation have been raised in the literature but their impact on Asian family business succession not fully understood. A lack of focus and understanding of these important issues raise serious questions about the Asian Family Business Continuity in Britain.

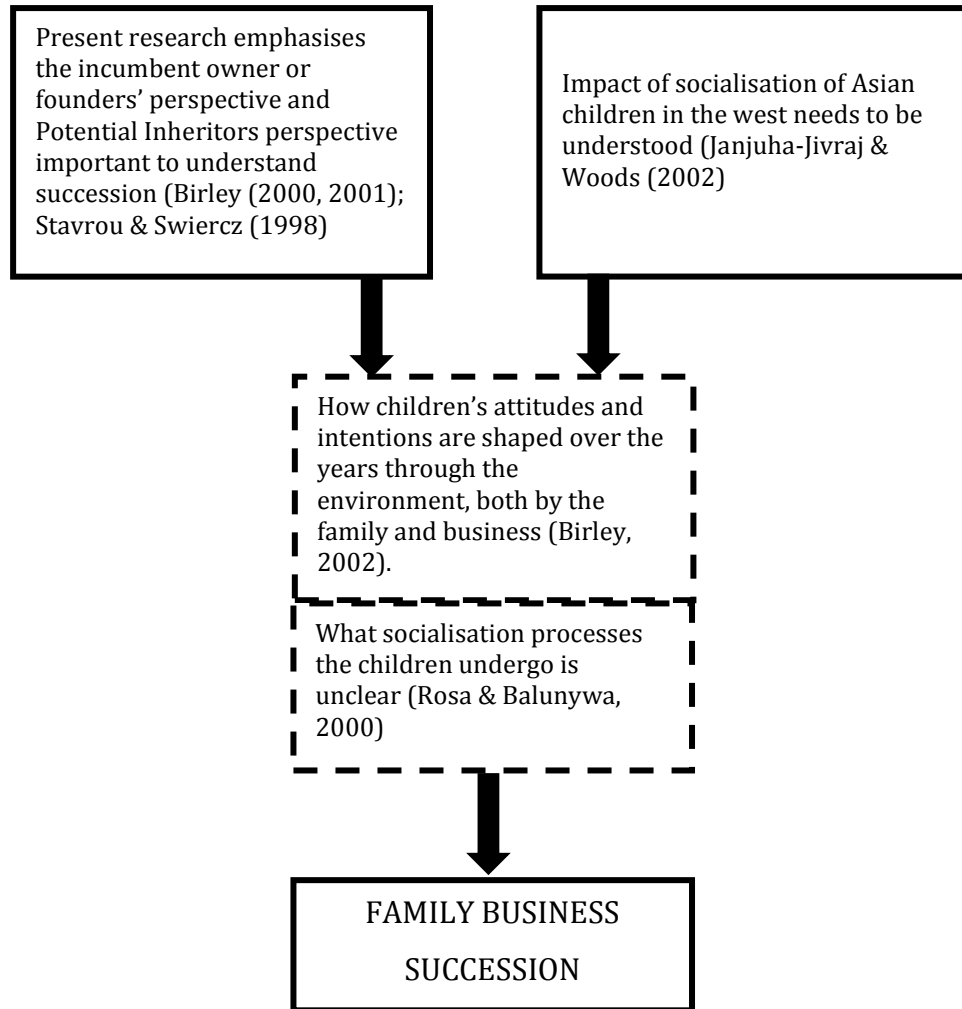


Figure 2.1: Identifying gaps in the literature; Source: Author

Based on the above deliberations an initial conceptual framework is developed that shows gaps that could be addressed by conducting empirical research. This framework shows not only highlights three important aspects, one it identifies that the perspective of the potential inheritor is important, two it highlights that understanding the socialisation process of Asian children in the West needs to be understood and three it highlights the gap in understanding the processes of how children's attitudes and intentions are shaped and the processes of socialisation the children undergo.

## 2.7 Initial Field Observations

Guided by the framework and research gaps highlighted, field observations were carried out to examine family business members about the issues surrounding succession and more importantly the need for understanding socialisation as key to understanding Asian family business succession. As demonstrated by Hatem (2012:51), such modification to pure induction allows for preparatory review of previous research and also to familiarise oneself with research setting to increase relevance of data.

This pilot study and initial familiarity used ethnographic methods of participant observation and unstructured and informal interviews and discussion. This brief study was conducted with the intention of developing a familiarity with the field and its inhabitants, developing a network with key informants, and to aid in the development of a future research strategy, preparation of interviewing guides and sampling.

### 2.7.1 Insights from Field Observations

These general observations and informal discussions with members of family businesses and key elders demonstrated the observations made by Birley (2001) that potential inheritors consider succession as a career choice and that there are multiple influences on their decision making. Also, Janjuha-Jivraj & Woods' (2002) observation that socialisation in the West, education, parents, peer group and media are all influences on children's attitudes towards family business and succession. It was observed that there was a phenomenon of 'reluctance' that came across strongly, particularly from the younger generation and a degree of resentment from the children towards their family businesses.

In the South Asian Family business scenario, which was the focus of the initial field observations, there has been a major shift. Succession and ownership is inter-

woven with complex family relationships and also to the socialisation process that the youngsters undergo both within the family and in the outside world. Many of the young generation South Asians, the children of Immigrant Entrepreneurs are showing reluctance to join their parents' businesses. Initial observations prior to formulating the research questions gave a glimpse of the potential conflict with the South Asian Family Business scenario. The narrative below (in first person) from the observation of conversations between the researcher and the business owner and second generation highlights unique concerns.

*Aziz<sup>3</sup> is about 55 years old and was born and brought up in Pakistan. Aziz owns a hardware and department store along with his two brothers. He came to Edinburgh in the late 1960s and after finishing a few years in school he started working in the business that his brothers had started. As was common for most South Asians at that time, they started with a grocery store. They sold the business after a few years and now have a hardware and general store in the heart of the city. He speaks Urdu and Punjabi and his English is accented. Aziz did not continue with his studies after High School and upon the insistence of his mother started helping his elder brothers in the day to day running of the business. During conversations with him during the field observations, among other things, he mentioned as to how worried he was about the uncertainty surrounding the future of his business. My immediate question was if he had any children who would look after the business when he and his brothers retire. He said his children, like most of other children of his fellow Asian Businessmen, were not interested in joining the business and it is likely that they may have to sell or close down the business. I could feel that he was unhappy with this possibility and at the same time I also felt that he had accepted this looming reality. I think it was painful as they had spent a lifetime building a life in this country and developed the business with much affection and hope.*

Below is another observation from the field visits, this time with a younger generation member of an Asian family business.

*Waqar<sup>4</sup> is a young generation British Asian, about 23 years of age. Waqar was born in UK, was schooled in UK and considered himself a British first and a Pakistani second, unlike his father who is also a British national. He spoke English*

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<sup>3</sup> Conversations with Aziz and Waqar (name changed) took place while the researcher was working with the Scottish Institute for Enterprise. Also as the researcher himself belongs to the ethnic minority migrant community interacting with the migrant community in Edinburgh was a way of settling in with the new city and culture.

<sup>4</sup> See above

*like any other native person. English is his first language. His father like many South Asians is settled in this country and runs a grocery and convenience store. Waqar had the opportunity to join his family business after completing his education but decided against it and after completing his degree he started working as a research assistant at the University. Upon asking 'why', he said that it involved too much work and the returns were not great. He said that it was alright for his father as in those days they did not have much choice. But he had a lot of choice and that he wanted to make use of his education and university qualifications.*

Similar observations among the young generation about how they viewed their father's businesses were equally revealing. Upon being asked about his career plans whether he was considering joining his father's business, one of the youngsters answered that was not just a simple 'no', but an emphatic and a loud NO WAY!

Having these diverse conceptions of the two generations' ideas about their Family Businesses and South Asians' life in UK, in general, as the background, it was decided to look in more detail about the life of children of South Asian immigrants and the factors behind their career decision making among this young generation of 'British' South Asians. The initial objective in choosing to research on this topic stems from these field interactions, such as the examples above, and from the curiosity developed as a result of these interactions, to understand the phenomenon of 'reluctance' observed among the young generation British South Asians about choosing their family businesses as their pre-occupation. Particularly so as this observation denoted a shift from the earlier observations that people with self-employed parents are more likely to become self-employed than those with parents in employment (Rosa, 1989). It was particularly observed that many of them were commonly choosing diversified occupational paths as against their parents' – predominantly father's – occupation of running small businesses. This particular observation led to formulating one of the first informal questions for the present research: Is there a potential inter-generational conflict with regard to diversified occupational choices that the children of Older Generation Asian immigrants are currently making? Or is it the case that the Older Generation migrant family business owners themselves may not want their children (Young



Generation) to join their family businesses? Or do they view their children's diversified occupational choices as efforts to integrate and assimilate into the wider British Society?

It was aimed through these observations that not only the perspective of the second generation, in particular their socialisation and its effect on their career orientation would help understand succession among the South Asian businesses, but it was also aimed that that a comprehensive framework could be developed that will help understand the process of succession in a family business in general.

## 2.7.2 Emergent themes from Field Observations

The following themes emerged from the analysis of the field observations. Some of the elements have been touched upon by previous research, sometimes only partially. The third column highlights, phenomenon that is presently unexplained by Family Business Literature or Ethnic Family Business Literature.

<b>Themes from Field Observations</b>	<b>Element of Theme Explained by present Succession and Family Business Research</b>	<b>What Field Observations highlighted, but not presently explained by Family Business and Ethnic Family Business Literature</b>
Potential Inheritor's perspective	Highlighted as an important to understand Succession (Birley, 2001)	Exhibited in Filed Observations
Reluctance to join family business	Does not exist	Strongly highlighted in Field interactions
Inclination towards alternative careers	Some reference in literature (Dhaliwal, 2004)	Field observations highlighted diversified career aspirations
Uncertainty about Future	Asian family business literature has highlighted uncertainty due to children's non-commitment (Dhaliwal, 2004); (Bakhaniwala et al, 1998); (Janjuha-Jivraj & Woods, 2002)	Particularly observed among the migrant first generation
Breaking out	Highlighted in Asian	Highlighted as future

	Family Business literature (Ram, 2007)	entrepreneurial continuity separate from own family business
Process of Socialisation	Does not fully exist; Highlighted by García-Álvarez et al, (2002);	Influences from western as well as Asian cultures
Factors effecting Socialisation	Does not exist in Family Business Literature	Field observations highlighted influence of other children's behaviour, higher levels of education
Factors effecting career intentions	Does not fully exist; Highlighted as important by Zellweger et al (2011)	Presence of higher career aspirations, low inclination towards family business as career

Table 2.1: Emergent Themes from field Observations; Source: Adapted from Hatem (2012:58)

## 2.8 Summary

This chapter analysed the literature on family businesses, Asian family businesses and Succession and its applicability to understand continuity. This was done through critically analysing and discussing the key aspects and foundations of family business literature as well as Ethnic family business literature to identify relevant research gaps in order to address the question of succession particularly in the context of Asian Family Businesses in Britain. Initial informal field observations were conducted in order to test known concepts from succession against understanding from the field.

Although a number of themes that have been highlighted in the previous literature were confirmed through the field study, many new themes emerged and the research gaps identified were confirmed as realistic as well as significant. A number of other themes were identified as a result of these observations such as a focus on alternative career choices as opposed to joining family business from the young generation perspective; Succession as a cause of uncertainty with regards to family business' future continuity; Reluctance among the younger generation; and

the processes of socialisation. Table 2.1 above presents these themes that emerged from the observations those that are explained by family business literature and those that are not. Elements from Socialisation and Career Development, previously highlighted as important in succession literature, were confirmed by field observations and also that the processes of socialisation are necessary to understand decision-making about future career and significantly family business succession.

These two themes of socialisation and career development were deemed to be important and it was decided to be study these theories to supplement the study. The insights obtained from this new perspective and further literature review on socialisation and career development is taken up in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER THREE: INTEGRATING SOCIALISATION AND CAREER DEVELOPMENT THEORIES INTO FAMILY BUSINESS SUCCESSION

### 3.1 Introduction

The findings of the initial field observations and previous literature review suggested that in order to understand fully the process of family business succession, it is important to understand the processes of socialisation and career development. Also unlike previous research on family business succession, where the founder or the incumbent owner's perspectives are given importance, this research looks at succession from the fresh perspective of the potential inheritor. This study focuses on the factors as well as the process of socialisation and career development.

Section 3.2 gives an overview of the integration of the three concepts of Socialisation, Career Orientation and Succession as a basis of the developing framework. This is then followed by explaining individual concepts i.e. Socialisation in section 3.3, Career Orientation in section 3.4. Section 3.5 presents an initial theoretical framework. The limitations of the previous research is highlighted and highlights research gaps. This paves the way for a study to be designed to fulfil these gaps. Section 3.7 explains the applicability of the theories of socialisation and succession to Asian family business succession and section 3.8 finally summarises the chapter and introduces the discussion in the next chapter.

### 3.2 A Socialisation - Career Orientation - Succession Framework

This section aims to introduce an initial framework that can be used to further understand succession from the perspective of the young generation; i.e. the potential inheritor rather than from the perspective of the incumbent owner or

the founder. Socialisation i.e. the process of acquired behaviour among individuals in a society is observed to be an important concept to be employed in order to understand how this might be useful in shaping the attitudes and thereby the children's intent to join the family business or not (Rosa & Balunywa, 2008; Birley, 2002; Stavrou & Swiercz, 1998). In addition to understanding socialisation, succession is considered to be one of the outcomes of a process of career decision making. It is argued that, albeit important in itself, only understanding the process of socialisation alone cannot provide a fuller understanding of children's intention to join or not join the family business unless it is coupled with another concept of career development. And particularly because succession is proposed to be understood from a young generations' perspective, it is argued in this thesis that the youngsters' career development be understood along with socialisation. These two then are understood to influence an individual's career orientation.

Career orientation is understood as a broader concept as compared to vocational choices or vocational decision making which pertains to the choice of particular vocations or jobs. Here the emphasis is the formation of attitudes and beliefs that influence the broader career pathways such as in the present research – joining the family business, starting their own business, and being professionally employed. Although unemployment is not a voluntary choice, but it is also considered as a valuable option particularly in understanding that as an alternative to family business succession. Therefore a person's career orientation is generally understood as follows, 'Career orientation reflects an individual's preferences regarding particular career-related opportunities, circumstances and career types' (Gerber et al, 2009).

On the basis of the above discussion a preliminary framework is created. This is called the Socialisation-Career Orientation-Succession Framework.

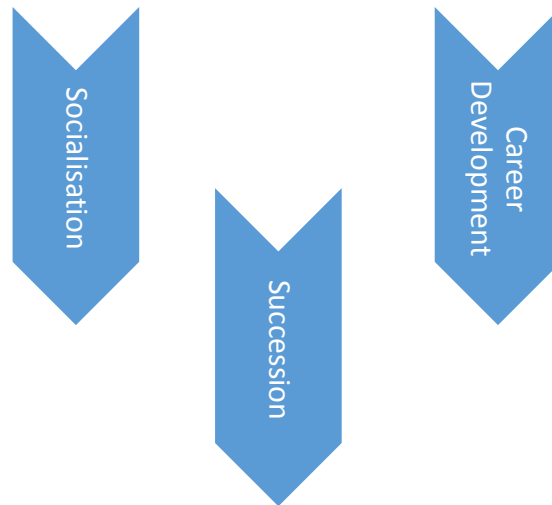


Figure 3.1: A Preliminary Framework; Source: Author

The sections below provide a detailed discussion of the three components of the above framework and aims to further develop the framework so as to reflect the agents and factors that shape Socialisation and Career Orientation.

### 3.3 Socialisation

Socialisation is an important concept in sociology as it describes the process of acquired behaviour among individuals in a society. It also demonstrates the way in which an individual acquires the culture of the society he/ she lives in and which is internalised by the individual. According to Thirumalai (1988),

*'Socialisation is considered as the process through which an individual acquires the knowledge, values and customs of a society in order to live as a member of the society'.*

Thirumalai (1988)

An individual is influenced by a number of agencies or institutions that are present in the society. These agencies could be close to the individual's

environment such as family, peers, or it could be the aspects like his/her education, culture, religion, work or even gender. In other words, the process of transformation of a new born baby into a social person is called Socialisation (Ogburn & Nimkoff, 1953 in Schaffer, 1953). They defined socialisation as follows:

*'Biological Heredity ushers the infant actor onto the stage where physical environment, the group and culture have set. The dramatic action now begins and the new born baby is gradually transformed into a social person. The term used by sociologists to designate this transformation is 'Socialisation'.*

(Ogburn & Nimkoff, 1953)

The objective of socialisation of an individual is to inherit and internalise the norms, values and customs of the society so that he or she is able to participate in the society. It is described by Clausen (1968) as means by which social and cultural continuity are attained. It can be described as a process that expects the individual to behave in normative ways i.e. the ways prescribed as good or acceptable by the society. People are shaped by social influences mentioned above such as self, family, peers and other agents present in an individual's environment.

Grusec & Hastings (2007) assert that socialisation is a two-way process as members of a social group are selective in what they accept from the older group and may also influence the older group such as parents. They define socialisation as a way in which individuals are assisted in becoming members of one or more social groups. According to Garcia et al (2006) the term socialisation refers to both a social end-product and to the changes that occur by way of social interactions. Moreover, they see socialisation as a set of processes that help an individual to function within the different social situations. Maccoby (2007:13) define Socialisation as *'the processes whereby naïve individuals are taught skills, behaviour patterns, values, motivations needed for competent functioning in the culture in which the child is growing up'*. These processes, according to Grusec & Hastings (2007), may result in favourable or unfavourable outcomes including acquisition of roles and values across the social, emotional, cognitive and personal domains and the less intended ones like low self-esteem, anger and reactance and aggression.

The broadest socialisation of all, as Maccoby (2007) assert is to instil character in the individual. Grusec & Hastings (2007) further add that socialisation is a lifelong process and can be on going throughout the life course of an individual. According to Maccoby (2007), a deep and lasting socialisation may be assumed to be a result of socialisation in childhood and that socialisation goes on throughout one's life span. There are a number of factors that moderate the impact of the socialisation experience among individuals such as age, gender, school, the nature of parent-child relationship, and the cultural context (Grusec & Hastings, 2007). They asserted that context is important and that socialisation cannot be understood independent of the context.

With regards to occupational roles, Maccoby (2007) stated that socialisation process include training individuals for roles in specific occupations. They further add that socialisation is a succession of processes occurring at successive stages of development. There are multiple agents that influence socialisation in an individual among them the most enduring one is the family of origin and is also influenced by other agents such as peer groups, schools, and religious institutions.

It has been mentioned above that socialisation is not a one way process in the sense that it is only and fully influenced by the agent. However, Maccoby (2007) stated that children engage actively in observational learning and they can be selective about which parental directive they will give more importance to.

### 3.3.1 Agents that Influence Socialisation

Children, like anyone else, belong to multiple social systems and each of these systems has an influence on their socialisation (Brody & Schaffer, 1982). They further state that each social system has a unique contribution towards various aspects of the child's socialisation. Social systems are institutions that can be simply understood as a complex of positions, roles, norms and values lodged in particular types of social structures (Turner, 1997 as cited in Miller, 2011). These



social systems, also called as agents of socialisation, are Family, Peers, School, Education, Work, Religion, and Culture among others and can have multiple influences on an individual's socialisation and will depend on the individual-agent interaction. Agents of socialisation and their varied influences, as discussed above, clearly enhance our understanding of how the socialisation process is facilitated. In addition to the agents, socialisation takes place over a number of levels or social systems, Arnett (2007: 211) lists seven levels over which socialisation takes place namely the cultural belief system, the family, the peers (including friends and romantic partners), neighbourhood/ community, school/ work, media, and the legal system emphasising that the cultural belief system is the system that underlies all other systems.

The section describes and discusses the important agents that influence the socialisation process and also the social systems inside which this process takes place.

#### 3.3.1.1 Family

Family, and particularly parents, are the first and are considered to be the most important of the agents of socialisation. According to Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), significant aspects of one's personality take shape during the first 4-6 years of life when children are at home under the watchful eyes of their parents (Freud, 1960). Family is the pre-eminent socialisation context simply because the child spends most time in interacting within this context as compared to other socialisation agents (Hartup, 1979). Family helps in maintaining social ideologies over time and parents attitudes and particularly mother's attitudes are significant positive predictors of children's attitudes in adulthood (Glass et al, 1986).

Traditionally family, and in particular parents, have been viewed as principal agents of socialisation in childhood (Glass et al, 1986). Families are thought to provide systematic socialisation through which children are taught the

norms of the social order. The influence of the family or parents as agents of socialisation is the strongest. Possibly this is because the attitudes formed in the family context endure well into adulthood (Glass et al, 1986). From the discussion presented above it has been mentioned that the socialisation process is not one way and the child may also have an influence on the parent resulting in the parents' socialisation as well (Grusec & Hastings, 2007; Maccoby, 2007; Glass et al, 1986). However, from the scope of the current research, discussion is restricted to the influence of parents on the socialisation of the children.

### 3.3.1.2 Peers

A peer group may be understood as a social group that has common aspects such as social position or age, although with regards to age it has been commented that socialisation can take place in same age as well as multi age peer groups interactions suggesting that there could be same-age peer groups as well as multi-age peer groups (Brody & Schaffer, 1982). Peer group influence may be highest in adolescence, however, this can happen at different stages and may start as early as the child starts having independent and unsupervised interactions e.g. in primary schools. According to Macionis & Gerber (2011), peer group influence affects short term interests as compared to the family that might have long term influence. This may be perhaps because peer groups often change as compared to family system that is permanent.

However, it is important to understand what is being transferred into an individual, which as Schaffer (1953) suggested, transforms an individual. Is it just the biological transformation from a baby to an adult, going through an adolescence stage or is it a sociological transformation? The definitions suggest that the process of socialisation transfers the culture into the individual with the help of agents of socialisation discussed above. This happens through an individual-agent interaction and the resulting or desired outcome is an individual that is fit to operate in the society as a whole and play its 'role'.

**Culture** can be broadly defined as a set of norms, values, customs or ideologies and the objective of socialisation is to disseminate these. However, the question that can be asked at this stage is that, 'Are these roles fixed and are not changeable?' Surely, if these were to be disseminated in a mono-cultural system there would be no problem, but what would happen if the different agents are trying to disseminate different cultures i.e. norms, values, and roles? Then surely the process of socialisation cannot be called 'normalisation' as the culture that the social agents will try to disseminate will differ from one social system to another and therefore from agent to agent. Bringing into perspective the particular case of children belonging to Asian families being raised in the United Kingdom, it is clear that the family system will have an Asian culture to disseminate, however, when it comes to the peer group social system and other social systems, at a later stage of development, there is a British cultural system that the child is now inheriting. Unquestionably then the culture that the child inherits will not be mono-cultural but it will be a bi-cultural system to say the least if not a complex multi-cultural system. This bi-cultural system is one that is constructed by the individual and is an amalgamation of the various cultures that he or she is subjected to by the multiple agents active in the socialisation process. To suggest then that the individual plays a passive role in his or her own socialisation would be inaccurate. This relates to Maccoby's, (2007) observation that children are selective about which directives they want to give more importance to. This may be true with regards to not just the parents but also with other agents of socialisation. It can be said then that the individual plays an active or dynamic role in his or her own socialisation. Moreover, Arnett (2007) suggests that socialisation is not complete by the end of adolescence and important developments are taking place in emerging adulthood. Their assertion is based on the observation that parents play a lesser role in the socialisation of emerging adults than they do in childhood and adolescence. By this stage the role and influence of friends, media, school, and community increases and the influence of parents or family diminishes (Arnett, 2004).

The concept of emerging adulthood does answer some of the questions posed above particularly in the context of Asian youth subjected to bicultural socialisation. The following section throws light on this concept and particularly helps in understanding how an Asian emerging adult might construct meanings out of the socialisation process that he or she undergoes.

### Emerging Adulthood

The period of emerging adulthood is between adolescence and adulthood and this is the phase where the transition to adulthood takes place.

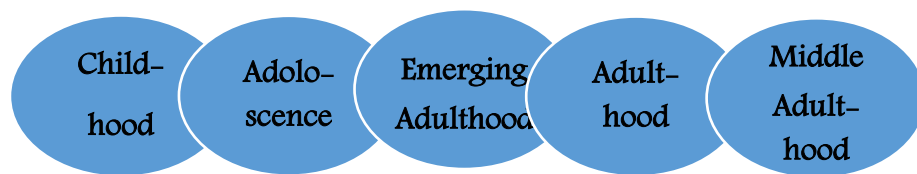


Figure 3.2: Configuration of Life course; Source: Arnett (2007)

This stage could be anywhere between late teens to mid or late 20s and is described as a heterogeneous period of life. Some of the features that Arnett (2007) describes about this stage are that it is an age of identity explorations, the age of instability, the self-focused age, the age of feeling in between and the age of possibilities. Some of the outcomes of socialisation as Arnett (2004) suggests are *Self-regulation* i.e. an ability to comply with social norms, *role preparation* for roles in work, gender, marriage and parenthood, cultivation of *sources of meaning* such as ‘what’s important?’ and ‘what’s to be lived for?’. Arnett, (2000, 2004, 2005 & 2007), have emphasised on the theory of broad and narrow socialisation with

regards to stages of socialisation. He asserts that it is a cultural theory, meaning that the focus is on the cultural beliefs that underlie socialisation rather than on the parenting practices that reflect cultural beliefs (Arnett, 2007: 212). He has related broad socialisation to individualism and narrow socialisation to collectivism. They assert that families where broad socialisation takes place individuals tend to be more individualistic and are more independent as compared to families where cultural beliefs are narrow in which individuals display characteristics of collectivism and interdependency.

In a study by Feldman et al (1992), of adolescents living in USA and Australia who migrated from China, they observed differences between first and second generation and found that the value of family as a residential unit declined from first to second generation i.e. the second generation by virtue of their longer residence in a society where broad socialisation takes place, the influence of family as a residential unit diminishes and tended to be more 'individualistic' which is perceived to be western value rather than 'collectivist' which is perceived as an eastern value.

### 3.3.1.3 Culture

Culture is also an agent that plays an important role in the socialisation process of an individual. Later in this section, the literature on the formation of identity based on culture, particularly the bi-cultural identity is discussed. 'Culture', as Werbner (2005) has defined, 'is a mode of transaction and relatedness, it is also a mode of substantive embodiment, culture is also a discursive imagery of selfhood, identity, subjectivity and moral virtue'. Assimilation is considered to be a favourable outcome of the socialisation of children born to migrant parents in the West. However, assimilation, acculturation, or integration, as has been observed by Modood (2012) and Parekh (2000) is not a positive concept from the Asians perspective. The underlying problem behind demand for integration is an unfavourable treatment by the established society by comparison with other

members (Modood, 2012), which in Britain presents itself between ethnic Asian minorities and the British white majority. The objective of integration is to have an equality of opportunity in employment and education and not based on criteria such as 'race' and ethnicity.

According to Modood (2012), 'Assimilation is the process affecting change and the relationship between social groups are seen as one way, and the preferred result is one in which the new comers do little to disturb the society they are settling in and become as much like their new compatriots as possible'.

Upon comparing the assimilation of both the old generation and young generation of Asians, Ghuman (1997) observed that the first generation are secure in their cultural and social identities and have made minimal changes to the demands of the host society. However, they further state that for the second generation the process has been very different assessing that as 'problematic' and the reason that they state could be because of the bi-cultural pressures that they are subjected to both at home and school (Ghuman, 1997).

#### 3.3.1.4 Race

Race and experiences or perceptions of racism plays a role along with their natural tendencies of adolescent youth of questioning social conventions. These influences have an impact on forming and confirming their personal and social identities (Ghuman, 1997). This conflict, he further asserts, may be due to the differing values that the two institutions emphasise, collective (i.e. a sense of community or *Baradari*) at home and individuality advocated by school (Ghuman, 1997).

Sethi (1990:12) as cited in Ghuman (1997) says, 'The clash of tradition occurs when parents with a collectivist ethnic orientation are attempting to raise their children in a society with an individualistic orientation'.

### 3.3.1.5 Gender Differences

However, although independence and individuality may be important aspects of life in Britain, among the Asian community these have played different roles with respect to different genders (Ghuman, 1997). Where on one hand boys are treated more favourably on matters of choice of clothing, dating, going out, spending money, independence and opportunity for higher education; girls on the other hand may be treated adversely in these regards, following the traditional cultural norms such as outside world for men and the household for women. Although, among immigrant family run businesses, women have played the part in the competitive advantage provided by family and cultural capital, the case with the second generation may be different. They are sent for higher education which itself may be against the usual Asian norms, however if they fail to get into 'respectable' careers such as medicine, or law, or accounting early marriage may be a reality for many who are not able to take their careers further.

Another of the Asian values that is advocated is that of obedience i.e. respect for elders or unquestioned obedience in their hearts as well as in expression. This according to Ghuman (1997), is anti-thetical to the British values taught to children at school, i.e. probing and critical approaches to ideas irrespective of their origin and affiliation.

Emphasis on these and values such as clothing, or choice of marriage partners have resulted in a sort of a conflict where the young generation has chosen for themselves a set of values which are synthesised from both the Asian value system as well as British. So, although, they consider the Asian part of them as an important part of their identity, they also want to incorporate 'Britishness' in area of their lives such as choosing the right partner, modes of dressing, in general some degree of independence in decision making. This again would significantly differ between the various sub-groups within Asians such as Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims as well as within Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian groups. In summary

as Ghuman (1997) suggests, the second generation was willing to accept some British norms whilst not rejecting their own way of life.

Berry (1994; p129) as cited in Ghuman (1997) defines acculturation as 'a culture change that results from continuous, first hand contact between two distinct cultural groups. Berry (1994) has used acculturation as a broader term that he uses to further make clear the meanings of the terms integration, separation, assimilation and marginalisation. This results from the interplay between two important issues that are faced by the young generation; namely (1) is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity (2) is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups?

Little is known about socialisation of children of immigrants in Western societies. Some of the studies that are conducted in the United Kingdom by Berry, 1994; Ghuman, 1997; Anwar, 2000; Modood, 1994 & 2003) as well as from the results and understanding developed by the researcher conducted on children of Asian immigrants to Canada (Wakil et al, 1981).

Wakil et al (1981) emphasise that the examination of patterns of socialisation, especially in the general context of change as special significance in understanding the pressures that strains the immigrants tend to perceive in a new cultural milieu. Although it may seem that the parents of the immigrant first generation may naturally go through this shift or upheaval because of their upbringing in Asian culture in a different country and their settlement in a different culture as opposed to the children who are born and brought up in the same culture, it is observed, notably by Ghuman (1997), that the parents are able to preserve their core values and it is the children who are subjected to mix of Asian values (predominantly at home or within the close community) and British (mainly at school). This gives rise to what has been described as a bi-cultural value system which has been broadly defined as the value system that is formed by adopting some of the British norms, whilst not entirely rejecting the values of their



home culture. This new values system is understood to give rise to the bi-cultural identity. As briefly discussed above, Asian values are characterised by strong kinship ties, interdependence and a great respect for age and authority; whereas the host society can be characterised by greater socio-economic independence and individualism (Waqil et al, 1981).

Saeed et al (1999) looked at identity formation of young Scottish Pakistanis as opposed to British influence and have attempted to develop an understanding of the post-British national identities in light of the increasing salience of the Scottish dimension. They assert that there is a deficiency in accepting plural identities in the UK. Saeed et al (1999) further stated that they believed that at a general level, Muslim identity in Britain regardless of generation has been given much publicity post events of 1990's example the Rushdie affair and the resulting protests or post 9/11 and recently the London bombings in July 2007. Their image, they emphasise, is related to a fundamental, extremist and un-British one.

These have an adverse effect on assimilation in particular, and resulted in claims for separate schooling which effectively meant a total ban in inter-mixing between communities and cultures. The future of multi-ethnic Britain would then be in jeopardy in so far at least where peaceful co-existence was concerned. Identity, they assert, is not something that is fixed and static but is continually evolving and changing (Saeed et al, 1999). In this regard it can be said that identity is fluid in that it may move between multiple or hybrid identities as the requirement of the situation. This is referred to as a more 'situational ethnicity', the term used by Sekhon & Szmigin (2005), in which they emphasise the adopting of an appropriate identity by members of an ethnic minority depending on where they are and who they are interacting with. This is similar to the bi-cultural identity possessed and displayed by ethnic minorities, particularly by young ethnic minorities in which they find themselves oscillating, at will, between the challenging environment of Asian and British in the multiple places they live their lives in.

While for the first generation similar ethnic minority group characteristics, such as race, nationality, religion, experience of racism and the intrinsic desire and need of preserving their culture may keep them bound together, the relative lack of these characteristics or a lowered perception of racial discrimination or experience among the young generation may lead to a lower feeling of marginality which perhaps leaves space to accommodate the cultures and values of the host culture. This has given rise to the notion of 'best of both Worlds' (Waqil, 1994).

Despite attempts that have focused on or emphasised assimilation, social segregation of cultures between ethnic minorities and majorities have remained or even widened. Trevor Phillips, post July 7, 2005 London tube bombings, argued that Britain is sleepwalking into segregation (CRE 2005 as cited in Werbner, 2005). Similar comments were made by David Blunkett post Bradford riots. Cattle (2001) as cited in Werbner (2005) also highlights the high level of segregation between different ethnic communities.

According to Werbner (2005), British Pakistanis live on the margins of three lived in worlds. These are 1) the aesthetic world of fun and laughter, of vivid colours and fragrances, music and dance as seen in the wedding celebrations; 2) the Islamic world with its utopian vision of the perfect moral order; and 3) the nationalistic Pakistani with its roots in family, community and national loyalties. While, the first generation British Pakistani may have possessed all three aspects of their dual identity, the younger generation may have adopted only parts of these and filled the rest with their British values thereby giving rise to the fluid bi-cultural identity that is seen now.

Existing literature on socialisation has emphasised on parents, peers, culture, gender, race as the most important social systems that have the biggest influence on a child's socialisation and although there is research on 'work' as an agent of the socialisation process, there is a paucity of literature on whether and how does family business environment play a role in the child's socialisation. Also,

it will be interesting to understand if and how does the child's role as a potential inheritor has an impact on the socialisation process and the resulting socialisation itself and does it have an effect on succession in family businesses or not?

It is interesting to understand the phenomenon of broad and narrow socialisation within the immigrant social and cultural system in which the Asian emerging adult is being socialised. It appears that they are subjected to both these processes of socialisation and might therefore develop shades of both individualism and collectivism as a result of being socialised in both the systems. This is evident in what Shekhon & Szmigin (2005), described as 'situational ethnicity'. However, it is not clear as to whether these outcomes i.e. individualism and collectivism remain separate and come into play when needed as suggested by Sekhon & Szmigin (2005) or do they mix together and manifest itself into a new form that is permanent, for example develop into a permanent bi-cultural belief system. This present research aims to explore how this identity formation takes place among Asian adolescents and emerging adults and how might that influence other socialisation outcomes such as self-development or role development. The figure below illustrates the various agents that influence socialisation.

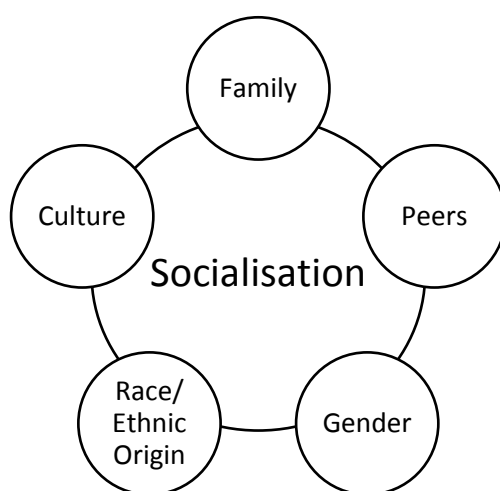


Figure 3.3: Agents of Socialisation; Source: Author

In summary, although the different social systems or processes can be divided into primary, such as family, peer groups or other relationships and

secondary, such as school, religion, mass media, one should not assume that the contributions of the Primary system is superior to the Secondary. In fact, Hartup (1979: 946) suggested that *'to the extent any social system adds unique variance to children's social competencies, that system has unrivalled significance in the socialisation process'*. This present section attempted to develop an understanding of what socialisation is and what are the different agents active in the socialisation process of a child. Succession is attempted to be looked at from a fresh perspective in the present research. It is argued that a thorough and a comprehensive understanding of family business succession can be developed when it is understood from the potential inheritor's perspective and therefore it is imperative that the socialisation of the child in the various environments in which the child's upbringing takes place including the family, the family business, their school and all other social systems within which the child interacts is understood as well. From the theories of career development and career choice within the fields of vocational psychology it was learnt that a plethora of factors influence an individual's career orientation. Choosing a suitable career and being successful in it could be considered as one of the outcomes of a successful socialisation process. It is not coincidental then that the agents active in the socialisation process also have an influence on the career orientation of the individual.

The following section presents a detailed review of literature in the fields of occupational and career choice and discusses how the various factors, including factors of socialisation discussed above, may have an impact on the individual's career orientation. The discussion below also includes how the Family Business environment may also have an impact on the child's career orientation.

### 3.4 Career Orientation

The previous section critically analysed the literature on Socialisation and discussed about what socialisation is and the factors that influence a person's socialisation namely family, peers, school and others. It was established that a

person's socialisation has an impact on the future of the person, particularly but not restricted to, the way they interact and behave in the society and also on the decisions they make about their life. Also the Asian perspective was explored in the literature as to how the various factors of socialisation might impact, particularly, on a child who is born to immigrant parents and settled in the UK. This is mainly important so as to explore the influence of internal and external factors of socialisation and how a child then internalises the affects and how their ethnic identity might be shaped.

Taking this further, this current section aims to further this understanding and to explore the literature about career decision making and how some of the factors of socialisation play a role specific to the career of an individual. It is aimed to establish a relationship between socialisation and career decision making. Also in this section it is important to understand that the subject of career choice is looked at from a broader perspective of career orientation rather than specific career choices or vocational decisions.

### 3.4.1 Objectives of Career Choice

There are a number of purposes that a career choice fulfils. The objective and purpose behind career decision making has also evolved over time. According to Gerber et al (2009), the focus of interest relates to family, leisure, hobbies or social engagement. Career is increasingly believed to be one part of a larger point of view on life. Concepts such as work life balance are of equal if not more importance than the previous notions of a successful career being the ultimate source of satisfaction in life and, as Gerber et al (2009) say, social values are moving towards more autonomy and a higher concern for work-life balance. So a definition of Career Orientation must include the broader attitude of a person towards their careers and also how a career is a vehicle that bridges the gap between opportunities and an individual's personal circumstances.

### 3.4.1.1 So what is Career Orientation?

Marins Gerber and colleagues proposed a definition that encapsulates the above essence. According to them, 'Career orientation reflects an individual's preferences regarding particular career-related opportunities, circumstances and career types' (Gerber et al, 2009).

This section critically analyses and discusses the literature regarding career orientation, and looks at the influences of various factors that influence career related decision making. In addition to that it also looks at the literature pertaining to the specific case of Asian youngsters, particularly from Family Business backgrounds.

Most research on occupations and career development has focussed on the specifics of the different occupations people choose. Also the process and dynamics around how these choices are made have been explored in detail. However, there has been neglect towards career orientation, meaning how the attitudes and beliefs are developed that drive people to choose certain occupational paths in the broader sense such as employment, self-employment or inheriting a family business. Although it may be clear that there are many factors that influence career choice, and research has highlighted this, how these factors interact particularly in the context of a family business environment and how it may impact the succession process in the Family Business.

Research in the field of Career Development is not new. As Albion & Fogarty (2002) discovered career development as a task has been approached and attempted to be conceptualised even in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. They cited Frank Parson's seminal work '*Choosing a Vocation*' published in 1909, stating that the three key requirements for career decisions are: self-knowledge, knowledge of work opportunities and conditions and the ability to combine rationally the two sets of information.

Occupational choice has been a widely researched area for the past many decades. One of the classical studies carried out by Ginzberg and associates, explain through their theory of occupational choice, as it being a developmental process i.e. a series of decisions made over a period of years, is irreversible and ends up in a compromise between individual abilities and opportunities in the labour market. Ginzberg (1951), go on to describe the decision making process as spread out over a number of years starting from early childhood to initial stages of employment. Blau et al (1956), have considered a more inclusive framework in which social interactions (experiences) are considered as an essential part of an individual's development and occupational choices are a compromise between preferences and expectations that are acquired through and modified through social experiences. White (1967) has noted that this process is mediated by personal factors and environmental factors such as degree of self-knowledge and quality of occupational information, social class, family and social pressures, and limitations of socio-economic environment. Many other studies carried out from then until now have explored various facets of the occupational choice process like social status and culture (Fershtman & Weiss, 1993), Role of Family Background (Sjorgen, 2000), Role of work and cultural values (Brown, 2002).

According to Clarke (1980) there are two groups of factors that influences occupational choice - personal factors like gender, age, inclination towards certain vocations; and environmental factors like home background, racial background, or educational environment. One of the earliest studies of occupational aspirations among the South Asian school goers by Gupta (1977), shows higher educational and vocational aspirations as compared to the white population of the same group and the reasons attributed were parental motivational attitudes and ethnic coloured minority status. Although, a majority of these studies are carried out mainly on Caucasian population some of these factors can be used to partially understand the choices made by Second Generation British Asians. In order to completely understand the determinants of occupational choices among this community it is important to understand in depth the perspectives and attitudes

towards employment of the South Asian community, both First and Second Generation. There are some important studies conducted in the United States on the effects of family and family business membership and career development (Eckrich & Lougehead, 1996). These studies throw light on the concept of identity and self-image and how they may influence the occupational choice process.

The work on occupational or career choices was further developed over the years in addition to Ginzberg et al (1951), most notably by Holland (1978) and Donald Super (1957) and various other researchers giving rise to popular theories like the trait theory, developmental approach and the integrative approach and multiple variations of these.

#### 3.4.2 Factors Effecting Career Decision

Constantine & Flores (2006) while looking at the factors that affect career decision making observed that vocational theories have recognised the importance of personal and contextual variables as important influences. They further note that within the contextual factors the role of family in career development has been one of the most important. According to Donald Super, contextual variables inherent in the family of origin had a significant role in influencing an individual's career path (Super, 1957). Other significant factors that affected career decision making are environment, culture, family class and background, ethnicity and gender (Osipow, 1983, in Chope, 2005). When the influence of families is considered it is important to note that their influences on decisions could be based on money, prestige, service and status (Chope, 2005) and these play an important role in shaping how children decide their careers.

Vondracek et al (1983) had indicated a number of factors, both individual and contextual, that influenced career development. Their approach for understanding this process was to look at the 'events, processes and life periods' that they identified as 'antecedents' to major vocational decisions. These



antecedents have been understood within the socialisation literature as caused within the environment that children have experienced while growing and progressing from one life-stage to another. Vondracek et al (1983) advocated this as important because an individual exists not in isolation but 'in a family, a community and more broadly in a multi-level organisational context'. And therefore, they suggested that 'these multiple dimensions need to be taken into account in order to adequately conceptualise a person's development'. Therefore, contextual variables such as those relating to family, economic conditions and socio-cultural factors are important in determining vocational behaviour.

So, some of the factors that fall within these categories, as enumerated by Vondracek (1983), are family socio-economic position, Ethnic Background, Birth Order and Family size, Presence of Single Parent, Father's Occupation, maternal Employment Status, parent-Child relationship, Parental encouragement, ethnicity and gender and also the influence of other environmental factors.

#### 3.4.2.1 Family

One of the major influences in a child's socialisation process, is the influence of Family in a child's development. Similarly, it was found that in the youngster's career development family plays an important and a crucial role. According to Shoffner & Klemer (1973) as cited in Lopez & Andrews (1987), 'parents affect their children's career choices by acting as role models, influences on children's self-concept, occupational motivators, and providers of the developmental environment' (pp 304). As Lopez & Andrews (1987) further pointed out, 'quality of identity formation' and 'situation of locus of control' are important factors that differentiate between youngsters that are indecisive by the end of their education and those that are clear about their careers.

Family is found to be of a strong influence on the career decision making of a youngster (Osipow, 1983 as cited in Lopez & Andrews, 1987). Lopez and Andrew

stressed on the understanding of career choice of young adults not owing to personality trait, as advocated by proponents of trait theory, but influenced largely by the interactions between family and the person. They further state that in the individual's family life cycle stages, the period of late adolescence, as also described by Arnett (2004) as the stage of '*emerging adulthood*', identity formation is important. This identity, as Lopez & Andrew (1987), suggested, is taking place alongside two other important processes that of psychological separation from parents and formation of clear vocational plans. These three, they say, identity formation, psychological separation and career decision making – and its interrelatedness cannot be ignored when understanding career development.

In relation to the above factor of 'family' as a factor that most influences career orientation and one related to it is the desire for the individuals to choose a career that enables them to find a balance between the kind of occupation they choose and at the same time be able to spend time with their families. Perhaps, the reason behind this is that work organisations and families are the two institutions most central to individuals (Clark, 2001). She highlighted the relationships between work culture and work/ family balance particularly in context of number of hours worked. She observed that the number of hours worked predisposes individuals to imbalance between work and family. Greenhaus et al (2003) state that work-family imbalance often implies cutting back on work to spend more time with the family. Closely related to the desire for creating a work-life balance as a factor for career decision making is the 'life style' career anchor which guides a person to find stability in one's life pattern as opposed to previous and relatively more important consideration of economic stability (Beauregard, 2007). Here family is looked as more of a pull factor rather than a push factor as may be the case for a young adult. The desire for finding a balance may have a likely origin point as the individual moves towards later stages of the life-cycle.

#### 3.4.2.2 Society

Mani and Mullin (2004), argue that an individual's social approval increases with his communities' perception of his skill in his chosen career. They further argue that when skill distribution differs across occupations, the community perceives one occupation more favourably. Although they acknowledge the effect of monetary costs and benefits on the occupational decision making, they also mention that a desire for approval and support from those in our social group influences decisions about occupational choice.

#### 3.4.2.3 Culture

Cultural beliefs, as in socialisation, have also an influence on the career decision making process in an individual's life. Arnett (2007) particularly emphasised on broad and narrow socialisation defining them as individualistic and collectivist respectively. Similarly when applied to whether this has meaning in career decision making or not, Beauregard (2007) suggests that familial influence on the choice of career may be even stronger for individual's belonging to predominantly collectivist cultures. The choice of career in this situation then is strongly influenced by the family members, particularly parents own beliefs regarding career, and these could be shaped by aspects previously described such as money, prestige, service and status (Chope, 2005). These indicate a difference between multiple generations' outlooks towards careers, as for the older (parental) generation concerned about economic stability and the younger generation concerned about work-family balance. The figure below illustrates the various factors that influence the career development process in an individual.



Figure 3.4: Factors of Career Development; Source: Author

### 3.5 Limitations of Previous Research and Research Gaps

According to Zellweger et al (2011), 'Antecedents to career choices of intentional successors have been conspicuously missing in entrepreneurship research'. They further suggested that high levels of internal locus of control, developed due to socialisation practices within family business environment, lead to a preference of employment over self-employment or joining the family business. Giving an alternative meaning of 'reluctance' towards family business succession, Zellweger et al (2011) found that students with a family business backgrounds are less inclined towards an entrepreneurial career.

This provided a research gap in our present understanding of succession and presented a unique proposition. Moreover, family business scholars such as Birley, 1986 & 2002; Rosa & Balunywa, 2008; Stavrou & Swiercz, 1998) have suggested that understanding succession from the inheritors' perspective may provide rich insights into this important family business process. Further, as Rosa & Balunywa (2008), suggested that socialisation of youngsters from family business backgrounds have not been adequately explored. Rosa (1989) also pointed to succession as a foregone conclusion by assuming that children from self-employed parents are more likely to be self-employed as compared to those

whose parents were in employment. While the researcher agreed that socialisation was important to understand the potential inheritors' development of perspective regarding succession, the assumption of children joining the parents business was challenged as a contrasting situation was being found among youngsters from specifically the Asian family business sector i.e. reluctance. According to García-Álvarez et al, (2002); analysing **socialisation** practices within the family will help to understand behaviour among children towards succession.

There is a lack of precursors to understanding career choice intentions of successors, As Birley (2002:8) also noted that there are "no instruments in the literature that deal directly with this particular topic of career choice intentions of potential successors, simply a number of assertions about, for example, the early involvement of children in the business as a way of training for succession or the timing of retirement of the previous generation".

Though Zellweger et al (2011) conducted a study to understand potential successors' attitudes towards three career intentions such as joining the family business, starting their own business or being an employee outside the family business, there is a clear lack of understanding the process of the development of these intentions, namely how are the career orientations of children from family business backgrounds are shaped. They further state that little is known about the attitudes and motivations of potential successors.

Though research on the incumbent has been conducted widely, there has been little research conducted on their offspring and the issues that affect their involvement in their parents' firm (Birley, 1991; Dumas. 1992; Handler, 1989; Rosenblatt et al., 1985).

Davis et al, (1998) has argued that studies on family business continuity only focus on the event itself with the major concern whether the founder has appointed a successor to replace his position. It is argued that the **perspective of**

**the successor** is noticeably missing. Addressing this gap has important implications for the not only the continuity and future performance of the firm, but also the family prosperity sustainability.

In addition to understanding socialisation, succession is considered to be one of the outcomes of a process of career decision making. It is argued that, albeit important in itself, understanding the process of socialisation alone cannot provide a fuller understanding of children's intention to join or not join the family business unless it is coupled with another concept of career development. And particularly because succession is proposed to be understood from a young generations' perspective, it is argued in this thesis that the youngsters' career development be understood along with socialisation. These two then are understood to influence an individual's career orientation. Career orientation itself is understood as a broader concept as compared to vocational choices or vocational decision making which pertains to the choice of particular vocations or jobs. Here the emphasis is the formation of attitudes and beliefs that influence the broader career pathways such as in the present research – joining the family business, starting their own business, and being professionally employed. Although unemployment is not a voluntary choice, but it is also considered as a valuable option particularly in understanding that as an alternative to family business succession. Therefore a person's career orientation is generally understood as follows, 'Career orientation reflects an individual's preferences regarding particular career-related opportunities, circumstances and career types' (Gerber et al, 2009).

### 3.6 Initial Theoretical Framework-The 'Socialisation-Career Orientation-Succession' Framework

This is the initial framework derived from the literature explaining the relationship between the two primary concepts of socialisation and career development. Socialisation, as explained above, is defined as the process through which an individual acquires values and customs of a society to live as members of

the society (Thirumalai, 1988). It depicts a transformation and a means of social and cultural continuity. This is an important construct in which the primary impact is on the individual and the secondary impact is on the society as a whole.

The need for a framework that integrates the concepts of socialisation and career development aroused by identifying that the present explanations of the process of succession in family businesses were not adequately understood. Moreover, within the Asian family business research domain the focus has been on explaining the entrepreneurship process mainly concerning the business start-up process. This mainly researched the migrant generation and was lacking in studies conducted from the young generation British Asian perspective.

On the basis of the above discussion an initial theoretical framework is created. This is called the Socialisation-Career Orientation-Succession Framework as illustrated in Figure 3.5 below.

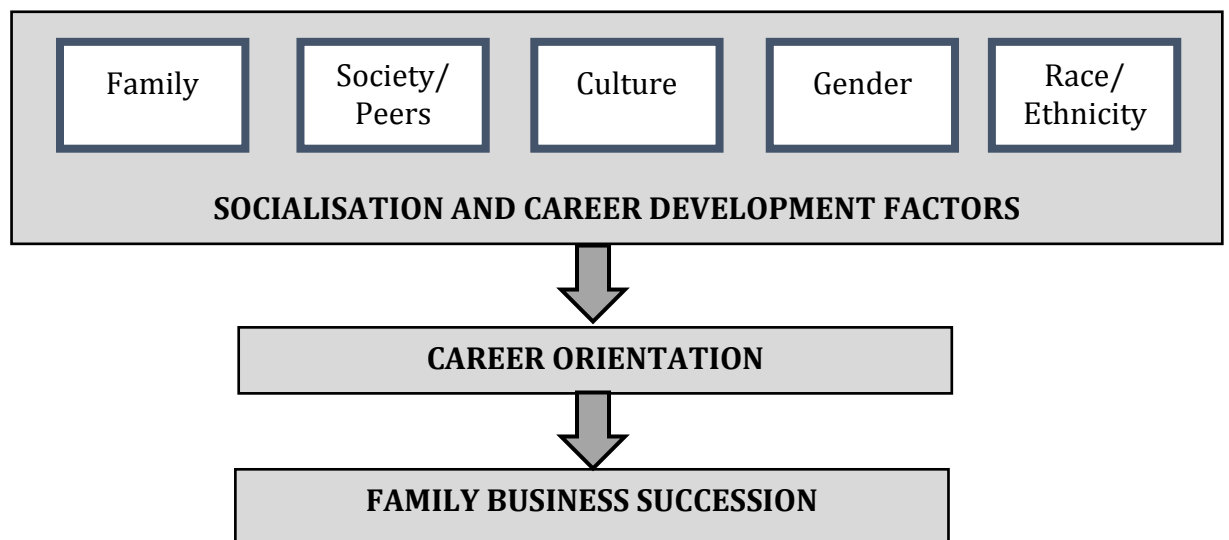


Figure 3.5: A preliminary framework; Source: Author

The section below provide a discussion of the important components of the above framework and aims to further develop the framework so as to reflect the agents and factors that shape Socialisation and Career Orientation.

Literature on these domains highlight that just like socialisation is a process that an individual goes through from childhood to early adulthood or even through one's lifetime (Grusec and Hastings, 2007; Maccoby, 2007), choosing occupational roles, as Maccoby (2007) suggested, is also influenced by socialisation as the socialisation process includes training or preparing individuals for roles in specific occupations. Similar to the process of socialisation, career development is also described as spread out over a number of years (Ginzberg et al, 1951) and choosing a successful career is an outcome of a successful socialisation process.

Zellweger et al (2011) suggested that a qualitative study would be the most appropriate to understand the underlying processes that help children from family business backgrounds shape their career intentions or orientations which will help them to ultimately make the decision about joining the business, starting their own business or work as an employee outside the family business.

### **3.7 Applicability of theories of Socialisation and Career Development on Family Business Succession**

The initial theoretical framework represents the applicability of the socialisation and career development theories in understanding family business succession. As explained in section 3.Career Orientation, it is shown that agents of socialisation and career development impact an individual's development process with regards to their future career orientations, where career orientation is understood as an individual's broad preferences about opportunities and future career directions. They are combined to show an influence on Succession, by being oriented towards joining family business or not.

This similarity identifies both these processes as developmental processes having similar agents that influence this development. Also as identified from literature, the agents that influence socialisation and those that influence career development are similar. Just as in socialisation, family is identified as the most



important agent of socialisation in the sense that family's values and beliefs effect decisions about career (Rogal, 1989). In addition to that just as parents, peers, culture, gender, and race are the important social systems that influence socialisation of an individual, similarly research has highlighted that family, race, culture, society, gender and age are, among other factors, important in influencing the development of one's career.

While the relationship between socialisation and career development, as shown above and in previous sections, is clear, the link between these and family business succession is not as clear. It is proposed in this thesis that the fresh perspective of understanding family business succession from the potential inheritors' perspective is helpful in understanding this relationship. First of all, from field observations the phenomenon of reluctance was identified as playing a role in future succession related decision making, similarly, it was observed that there was a generally higher level of educational attainment among younger generation as compared to the Asian first generation and the discourse among the younger generation was clearly about which careers to choose in the future. Joining family businesses did not feature in such discourses. Hence, it was necessary to understand the intermediary process i.e. career orientation which may explain decision making regarding joining the business or choosing some other occupation. Hence, the theoretical framework used 'Career Orientation' as an intermediary process that relates the broader processes of socialisation-career development with family business succession.

### 3.8 Summary

In light of the above literature review and discussion, it can be stated that there is a clear gap in understanding the attitudes of the young generation British Asians towards their immigrant parents' life and history in Britain and also towards their family businesses and what factors influence their choices of careers. By means of integrating the concepts of sociology and career development the

influence can be understood and therefore a wider and more comprehensive understanding could be developed. More importantly a conceptual framework incorporating their attitudes towards their life and career and the factors affecting can be utilised to explain the influences on how various career pathways that the youngsters are inclined to choose. Research on these issues will also help to assess the impact it can have on the future of South Asian family business in this country.

The following chapter, Chapter Four, presents the methodological approach which is used in this thesis. The methodology is guided by the conceptual framework presented in this chapter.

## CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology used to investigate socialisation and career development effects on succession in Asian family businesses. As suggested in the previous chapters, the concepts of socialisation, career development and succession are brought together in order to generate wholesome explanations of the phenomenon of family business succession. The research uses qualitative-inductive framework and a triangulation of data sources such as members of family both first and second generation and key informants. This chapter discusses philosophical underpinnings and practical aspects of conducting research in general. It describes the methodological framework that is used as an underlying philosophy and its significance and consequence for research. The two broad philosophical positions or epistemological paradigms namely Positivism and Interpretivism are investigated and Ontological questions of whether reality is subjective or constructed by the social actors are understood. Methodological considerations regarding the relationship between theory and research are also deliberated upon within each of the paradigms.

The chapter further goes on to describe the research design with an emphasis on the research questions and the choices and decisions that are made with regards to conducting research. These throw light on choices regarding choice of location, and how the sample is chosen. Further, various methods for data collection are discussed and the justification of choosing life history approach through conducting in-depth unstructured interviews as data collection method is provided. It looks at how these choices are deemed to be most appropriate in understanding and providing explanations around family business succession. Methods for data analysis are discussed followed by a discussion about the ethical considerations and limitations of the research.

This thesis aimed to provide a clear understanding of the factors that affect succession in a family business. This is done by providing deep and meaningful descriptions of the process of socialisation and its effect on career orientation. The sample is chosen from the 2nd generation British Asians from family business backgrounds.

#### 4.1.1 Chapter Outline

This chapter is organised in the following section: the next section presents the research design, what is it and how this present study is designed. Section 4.3 discusses the philosophical deliberations followed by, in section 4.3.1, a detailed discussion about the various paradigms of the research i.e. Positivism and Interpretivism and its implications on current research. Section 4.4 compares and contrasts the qualitative and quantitative methodologies and the choices made in this research. This is followed by the research questions in section 4.5 and the research methods are discussed in section 4.6. This section also discusses about the various research methods and the justification of the choice of life history method as the most appropriate one. Issues about sampling and qualitative interviewing are discussed in the subsequent sections of 4.6.1 and 4.6.2. Within these sections the triangulation of data sources, sensitivity and sources of data are discussed. Section 4.7 discusses about the presentation and analysis of data and the strategy of analysis such as coding, data sorting, and interpretation are discussed. Section 4.8 discusses the validity and reliability regarding this research such as credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Sections 4.9 and 4.10 discuss the limitations and barriers to data collection and ethical considerations. This is followed by a chapter summary in section 4.11.

## 4.2 Research Design

*Research Design is about a series of decisions that are made before the research commences and other decisions that may need to be made in the course of the research in order to conduct a controlled enquiry to find, describe, understand, explain, evaluate and change patterns or regularities in social life.*

Norman Blaikie, 2000

Research Design has been defined differently by various people. Blaikie (2000), defines it as a plan and the first stage of the three step research process. The other two steps being execution and reporting. Hakim (1987) considers research design as something that deals with aims, uses, purposes, intentions and plans which are within the practical constraints of location, time, money and availability of staff. The above statement encompasses not only the research subject under consideration but also the researcher and various other people who form part of the audiences like the sponsor or people associated with funding of the project and the people who will use the results of the research like the policy makers or the end users; the impact group. She also emphasises the role of the researcher in the developing of the research design. According to Hakim (1987), research design is very much about the style of the researcher and the stylistic preferences of the people who pay for the work. Trochim & Donnelly (2006) consider Research Design as the structure of the research and like a glue that holds all of the elements in a research project together. From the above mentioned views about research design, it seems that conducting research is not possible without first preparing a plan and not to have a design is like going to a battle without first planning and strategising. Trying to plan on the way as the research progresses can be dangerous and it is easy to lose focus. Research Design is like a beacon of guiding light which helps a researcher to not only keep his focus by following the pre-formed structure but also to make amendments on the way.

This section discusses the various steps involved in developing a plan or structure for the research. Starting with the aims and objectives of the research, it formulates the research questions and throws light on the various issues

considered while formulating the questions. The context is established by giving background information of the area of research through literature review earlier. Then the section moves to more technical grounds and discusses the various possible research strategies and the choices made for this particular research. The various research methods are discussed and a suitable method is chosen.

#### 4.3 Philosophical Deliberations

The research, in achieving its objectives, needs to address ontological, epistemological and methodological questions. Different ontological and epistemological beliefs shape the nature of research enquiry, the roles of the researcher and the research-respondent relationship (Jean, 1992).

***What is Ontology?*** The word Ontology derives from the Greek *on* meaning being and *logos* meaning theory, so theory of being, that is the theory of the nature of what is or the theory of the nature of reality. So Ontology concerns the nature and knowledge of social reality. What is the world really made of? (Moses & Knutsen, 2007). It refers to the reality of the social world (Hollis, 1994), meaning whether reality is objective or subjective.

***What is Epistemology?*** The word 'epistemology' derives from the Greek *episteme*, meaning 'knowledge', and *logos*, meaning theory, so a theory of knowledge. Epistemology refers to a fundamental branch of philosophy that investigates the possibility, limits, origin, structure, methods and validity of knowledge. It is the philosophical study of knowledge? The basic question of epistemology is: What is knowledge?

***What is Methodology?*** The word methodology finds its roots in the Greek word *methodos*, meaning the procedure for the attainment of a goal, for instance - the attainment of knowledge and *logos* meaning theory; thus: theory of the way in which knowledge is acquired. Methodology refers to the systematic investigation

of the various rational and procedural principles and processes that guide social enquiry. Or simply, how do we know? According to Moses & Knutsen (2007), Methodology denotes an investigation of the concepts, theories and basic principles of reasoning on a subject.

This takes us to the broad discussion of what directions do the answers of the above questions take us towards. I start by briefly discussing the two epistemological positions or paradigms – Positivism and Interpretivism.

There are various paradigms or theoretical perspectives of investigating social reality (Kuhn, 1996). Human beings construct their social reality using their perceptions about social phenomena that occurs in their lives and investigating is about observing and understanding these perceptions. The philosophical perspectives used for this investigation is based on two basic principles of thoughts or general frames of reference that have historically oriented social research since its inception: the 'empiricist' vision and the 'humanist' vision, or 'objectivism' and 'subjectivism' also labelled as the 'Positivist' and the 'Interpretive' paradigms. In the positivist paradigm, (Corbetta, 2003), it is asserted that social reality exists outside the individual, that it is objectively understandable and that it can be studied by means of the same methods as the natural sciences that produce true or probabilistically true results. On the other hand, individual interaction is emphasised in the interpretive paradigm in which it is asserted that a universal social reality valid for all persons, an absolute reality, does not exist; rather there are multiple realities in that there are multiple and different perspectives from which people perceive and interpret social facts (Corbetta, 2003).

#### 4.3.1 Positivism vs. Interpretivism

##### 4.3.1.1 Positivism

For the advocates of the normative approach, according to Delanty & Strydom (2003), positivism is a prescriptive activity that offers a vision of how

social science should be conducted. In this view, the philosophy of social science is a philosophy of science. Thus many of the leading proponents of this traditional approach were positivists.

***What is Positivism?*** It is a philosophy of the social science that is based on a series of assumptions i.e. the universe is casually ordered, homogenous, one-layer world, that there is a basic unity to human experience and that we are therefore able to gain knowledge of reality and indeed construct a knowledge system about it. This stresses the experiential basis of all knowledge. It is Objectivism i.e. a purely theoretical position of the uninvolved observer is adopted so that the focus is exclusively on the object. This is on the basis of separation between the subject and object of knowledge.

Positivism, assumes that there is a real world out there, independent of our experience of it, and that we can gain access to that world by thinking, observing and recording our experiences carefully. This process, according to Moses & Knutsen (2007), helps scientists reveal patterns that exist in nature but are often obscured by the complexities of life. Positivists believe that there are patterns in nature that can be observed and described and that this can be done by using the methods and procedures that are used in the natural sciences. Positivism necessitates a belief that only that phenomenon that can be observed can be validly acceptable as knowledge (Bryman, 1988).

Under this philosophy, it is considered that the world is real (a real world that exists independently of our senses), and that it consists of independent particulars. These particular components interact in regular and patterned ways, and that human beings can experience these interactions by way of sense perception, Moses & Knutsen (2007). However, Natural Scientists have increasingly acknowledged that that their world of study may not be characterised by the universal laws and patterns that have traditionally anchored their



ontological point of departure and finally, there is an increased realisation that the world is a very complicated and complex place.

One of the criticisms of this approach was that it sees the world as one layered, however, it is increasingly acknowledged that the things we study can change in appearance when viewed from different contexts and perspectives, Moses & Knutsen (2007). They further add that, 'recognising the constructed nature of social reality is the starting point of many postmodern approaches'. According to Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), the world is fundamentally disordered: there is no intelligible world to be known. In Foucault's (1984) words as cited in Moses & Knutsen (2007),

*'we must not imagine that the world turns toward us a legible face which we would have only to decipher; the world is not the accomplice of our knowledge; there is no pre-discursive providence which disposes the world in our favour. We must conceive discourse as a violence which we do to things, or in any case as a practice which we impose on them'.*

According to Moses & Knutsen (2007), flexible identities exist at all levels. They further add that if we accept that signals and interpretations can vary from time to time, or from context to context, then it becomes increasingly difficult to be certain about the realness, the concreteness, the singularity of the objects/ actions that we are surveying as social scientists.

Finally, there can be doubts about the three central ontological assumptions in the naturalist approach, as clearly elaborated by Moses & Knutsen (2007). Firstly, in nature, there may be law like patterns; however, it is not clear whether it is reasonable to assume the same for the social world. Second, there is doubt whether the social world exists as a single entity which is equally accessible to any observer with proper instruments and attitudes. The social world seems less certain, and more capable of presenting itself in many different forms. Finally, there may be good reasons to doubt whether the social world exists independent of its interrogator.

In addition to the limitations about the ontological basis of the naturalist view, as understood above, it is important to understand how that affects the naturalist tradition's epistemology. As Moses & Knutsen (2007), questions, 'In a world that reveals itself in such complex ways; can observation alone be sufficient for understanding it?'

#### 4.3.1.2 Interpretivism

For interpretivists, the patterns of interest are not firmly rooted in nature but are a product of our own making. They believe that each of us sees different things, and what we see is determined by a complicated mix of social and contextual influences and/ or presuppositions. It is for this reason that this epistemology is referred to as Interpretivist as it recognises the important role of observer and society in constructing the patterns through interpreting the world in which he or she lives.

Interpretivists recognise that people may look at the same thing and perceive it differently. Individual characteristics such as age, gender or race or social characteristics such as era, culture and language can facilitate or obscure given perception of the world. The world in that sense is not homogenous or one layered, in fact the social world is a complex system of perspectives (Schutz, 1967; p 8). It is acknowledged that knowledge is affected both by individuals as well as societies they compose. It is argued that people do not obtain knowledge by observing the world; they obtain knowledge by interacting with other people.

Finally, summing it all up, within the interpretivist approach, the ontological position is that there is a basic uncertainty about the nature of the world; that there is no single real world and that the world that we study is one that appears to people who find themselves situated in different contexts; its appearance varies with the contextual setting of the observers. And each world is socially constructed.

According to Bryman (2004), social reality has a meaning for human beings and therefore human action is meaningful – that is, it has a meaning for them and they act on the basis of the meanings that they attribute to their acts and to the acts of others. This means that the social scientist must interpret their actions and their social world from their point of view.

Constructivism, as Bryman (2004) explains, is an Ontological position that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors. This implies that social phenomena and categories are not only produced by social interaction but that they are in constant state of revision. This means that a fundamental law of positivist science, replicability, cannot be attained in the social sciences. However, if similar instructions of data gathering, analysis and interpretation are strictly adhered to, it may be possible to obtain similar outcomes. The concept of transferability is discussed in a later section on quality and trustworthiness of findings.

#### 4.3.2 Implications of these Deliberations on Current Research

So what approach is best suited to this current research? The above discussion draws attention to the two broad philosophical positions or paradigms i.e. positivism and Interpretivism. It is widely understood and practiced that research must be conducted within the context of one of these two paradigms. According to Michael Patton (1990), a paradigm is a tool that helps to understand the complexity of the real world. However, he suggested that there was no need for a one sided faithfulness towards either Positivism or Interpretivism and he put forward what he called a Pragmatic Paradigm. He said,

*“The importance of understanding alternative research paradigms is to sensitise researchers ... to the ways in which their methodological prejudices, derived from their disciplinary socialisation experiences, may reduce their methodological flexibility and adaptability.”*

Michael Patton (1990:38)

He defined paradigm as follows,

*"A paradigm is a worldview, a general perspective, a way of breaking down the complexity of the real world. As such, paradigms are deeply embedded in the socialisation of adherents and practitioners: paradigms tell them what is important, legitimate and reasonable. Paradigms are also normative, telling the practitioner what to do without the necessity of long existential or epistemological consideration."*

Michael Patton (1990:37)

So instead of believing that one must prefer to affiliate with one paradigm or the other he advocated a paradigm of choices and suggested that these choices must be based on what is more suitable or appropriate for the inquiry under consideration. Within this he encouraged that a paradigm of choices rejects methodological orthodoxy or convention in favour of methodological appropriateness as the primary criterion for judging methodological quality (Patton, 1990). If such reason is employed it will help the researcher to make decisions based on the purpose or objective of the enquiry, the research questions being examined or explored and also equally importantly the resources available such as time, money, or accessibility to the sample of population. The choice then enables the researcher to make sensible decisions based on the purpose of enquiry, the questions being investigated and resources available. In this current research, the broader phenomenon of family business succession that this research proposes to investigate is from the perspective of the young generation. This is done by understanding the socialisation process that the children undergo from their childhood till adolescence or early adulthood and its effects on their career orientation. This necessitates or almost compels that the views as interpreted by the social actors themselves must be understood in order to get a real and deeper sense of understanding of the phenomenon under enquiry. In order to study the socialisation process that the British Asian youth undergo, many factors are proposed to be studied such as how they perceive their race or culture to be a dynamic in their decision making about their careers. Issues surrounding gender or parental and social expectations regarding career are also proposed to be understood and also the views they have developed about growing up in a family

business environment. These are issues that may perhaps need more than a distant observation of the various aspects of the phenomenon under investigation.

It is important that the phenomenon is understood from the perspective of the people who are being studied. This research proposes to explore and investigate the subjective meanings of the experiences from the perspectives of the young British Asians from Family Business backgrounds. The research seeks to understand the complexity of views of the various research participants.

It is, therefore, imperative to understand the individuals' own interpretations of their social reality, the interpretations that provides motivational background to their actions. The aim is then to minimise the objective separateness between the researcher and the researched (Creswell 2007:18). Therefore, in order to understand the phenomenon of Succession in Family businesses, an Interpretivist paradigm is deemed to be most appropriate. The objective is to rely on the participants views of the situation. The aim is to look for complexity of views regarding the various aspects surrounding socialisation, career orientation and succession. The intention of the research is to make sense or interpret the meanings others have about their world (Creswell, 2007).

#### 4.3.3 Phenomenology

Within the Interpretive paradigm, and the qualitative methodology the goal is to rely on the participants' views of the phenomenon under enquiry. It is a process of capturing the experience of people that they have about their environment. Thus the researcher's intention is to make sense the meanings others have about their world (Creswell, 2007). It is proposed that a phenomenological study is most suitable for the above purpose. A phenomenological study is defined by Creswell (2007:57) as follows,

*"A phenomenological study describes the meaning for several individuals of their lived experience of a concept or a phenomenon. The basic purpose of phenomenology is to reduce individual experience with a phenomenon to a*

*description of the universal essence...this description consist of 'what' they experienced and 'how' they experienced."*

Creswell (2007:57)

So the focus is on description of the experience of what all participants have in common as they experience the phenomenon. In the present study, it is the experience regarding succession from the young generation of British Asians' perspective that the research aims to capture. And particularly it aims to understand how socialisation of these youngsters has had an influence on their career orientation and thereby affecting succession. Phenomenology however, as he further states,

*"Is not only a description, but is also seen as an interpretive process in which the researcher makes an interpretation of the meanings of the lived experience".*

Creswell (2007:59)

It is about making sense of what the respondent has already experienced or interpreted and therefore, within a phenomenological method, it is important to grasp the individual's interpretive devices which provide the motivational background to their actions (Bryman, 1988). This is done with an aim of determining the underlying structures of an experience by interpreting the originally given descriptions of the situation in which the experience occurs (Moustakas, 1994). The primary objective then, of phenomenological knowledge, is the understanding of meaningful concrete relations implicit in the original descriptions of experience in the context of a particular situation (Moustakas, 1994). The consequences of not doing so might result in losing touch with social reality and imposing a fictional or non-existing world constructed by the researcher (Schutz, 1964, as noted by Bryman, 1988).

Therefore, to summarise, the two important basis of interpretive phenomenological research are: one, the research deals with 'research objects' that are themselves interpreting the social world we wish to interpret and two, people

are engaged in an on-going process of making sense of the world, in interaction with their fellows (Wilson, 2002). We as researchers are seeking to make sense of their sense making. At the same time it is made clear that the researcher is not involved in the life of those observed, their activities are not of any practical interest, but only cognitive interest (Wilson, 2002).

#### 4.4 Quantitative vs. Qualitative Methodology

The aim of this section is to present the two methodologies i.e. quantitative and qualitative and to justify the leanings towards a qualitative methodology employed in this research. Further the various methods that fall within the two competing methodologies are considered. A brief discussion of the sampling methods follows and a rationale behind the choice of the most appropriate method for data collection is then discussed followed by the discussion on methods of data analysis employed in this research. The chapter concludes by a discussion of the ethical considerations and limitations.

The epistemological and Ontological considerations and how they might have an effect on choosing the research strategy were discussed in previous sections. It seems to imply that the quantitative and qualitative research strategies would follow strict set of rules in which the quantitative design would entail following a deductive, positivist and an objective stand point, where as a qualitative design would entail a inductive, interpretive and a subjective or constructionist viewpoint (Bryman, 2008). While this has been commonly seen as a fixed set of criterion in making the choices regarding research, most importantly about the research methods used, it is not absolute, as Bryman (2008: 588) points out, "While epistemological and ontological commitments may be associated with certain research methods, the connections are not deterministic". He further adds that, "these connections might be thought of as tendencies rather than definitive connections" (Bryman, 2008:588).

Before the choices and the justifications of these choices are discussed, a brief discussion of each research strategy is provided in this section.

Quantitative and qualitative research represents different strategies and both represent differences and similarities in terms of the Epistemology, Ontology and Methodology which forms the basis of which research design is seen as most appropriate for conducting research. This may have an influence over the choice of location, sample, research methods, and also on data analysis and presentation and discussion of findings.

Quantitative research is generally understood as one that demonstrates that the relationship between theory and research is deductive in nature meaning that objective of research is to test theories by forming hypothesis (es) and collecting data for the purposes of testing the hypothesis (es). This involves a natural science approach i.e. positivist and in which reality is considered to be objective i.e. independent of the social actor or of the studied phenomenon. So to sum it up, quantitative research entails a deductive methodology, a positivist epistemology and assumes an ontological position that takes an objective view of reality (Bryman, 2008).

On the other hand, qualitative research considers that the relationship between theory and research is inductive i.e. theory is generated from research, an epistemological viewpoint as interpretivist and an ontological position described as subjective or constructionist.

Below is a summary of the key points of Quantitative and Qualitative research across the three criteria of Methodology, Epistemology and Ontology.



Quantitative Research	Qualitative Research
Entails a deductive approach to the relationship between theory and research, in which the accent is placed on testing of theories	Predominantly emphasises an inductive approach to the relationship between theory and research, in which the emphasis is placed on generating theories.
Has incorporated the practices and norms of the natural scientific model and of positivism in particular	Has rejected the practices and norms of the natural scientific model and of positivism in particular in preference for an emphasis on the ways in which individuals interpret their social world
Embodies a view of social reality as an external, objective reality	Embodies the view of social reality subjective; as a constantly shifting emergent property of individual's creation (or construction)

Table 4.1: Comparison between Quantitative and Qualitative Methodologies

Source: Bryman, (2008)

It has been commonly and widely understood that every research project is meant to choose one of the above two designs and that a mix of designs are not advocated. It has been argued though that the association between philosophical underpinnings and choice of research methods is not set in stone i.e. the practice of social research lacks absolutely determinism (Patton, 1990; Bryman, 2008). What is problematic is that qualitative research is generally portrayed as everything that quantitative research is not. Creswell, (2007), argues that qualitative research is a field of enquiry in itself and that it should not be understood in the context of quantitative research.

While the advantage of a quantitative study could be that it is possible to measure responses of a huge number of respondents to a limited set of questions and conducting comparison and statistical aggregation of data, Patton, 1990 suggests that qualitative methods allow the researcher to study selected and complex issues in greater depth. As Hakim, (1987), puts it,

*"Qualitative research is concerned with individuals' own accounts of their attitudes, motivations and behaviour. It offers richly descriptive reports of individual perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, and feelings, the meanings and interpretations given to events and things, as well as their behaviour; displays how these are put together, more or less coherently and consciously, into frameworks which make sense of their experiences; and illuminates the motivations which connect attitudes and behaviours, the discontinuities or even contradictions, between attitudes and motivations are resolved in particular choices made".*

Hakim, (1987:26)

The research focus is about the patterns of behaviour or understanding of social issues in their world that emerges from the interviews (Hakim, 1987). One of the most important aspects of qualitative research is that it allows the observation of the phenomenon in the respondents' natural environment and attempts to make sense of phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008).

Where there are advantages and strengths in a scientific quantitative research methodology there are also limitations. When it comes to dealing with human beings and specially their emotions the complexity posed by their behaviour and reaction or response to different situations calls for an approach that can deal with it more effectively. This arises because human beings are not only acted on by a plethora of environmental forces, but can interpret and respond to these forces in an active way (Burns, 1990). It fails to take account of people's unique ability to interpret their experiences, construct their own meanings and act on these. A satisfactory explanation of social activities requires a substantial appreciation of the perspectives, culture and world-views of the social actors involved. This is because the human element has been recognised increasingly as a critical factor in the definition of truth and knowledge (Burns, 2000).

The issues that this present research aims to investigate present challenges that are understood to provide a better and a deeper understanding of those issues by the use of methods that can potentially capture the essence of the world of the respondents as per their own interpretation of it. Below is a brief summary of

what is aimed by conducting the present research by employing qualitative research methods.

The research aims to understand the issues from the point of view of participants with the objective that the perspective of those being studied provides the point of orientation. The gap between the researcher and the researched is tried to be minimised so that a true account of the participants' interpretation is elicited. The research seeks close involvement with people being investigated, so that the researcher can genuinely understand the world through 'their' eyes. It is aimed that concepts and theory elaboration emerge out of data collection. An unstructured approach is adhered to, so that possibility of getting at participants' meanings and concepts emerging out of data collection is improved. Basically, the research seeks contextual understanding of behaviour that participants engage in, and the values and beliefs they may have developed through their life experiences. Life History approach is used in order to collect rich and detailed data. A step by step process was followed for conducting the research (Bryman, 2008: 370).

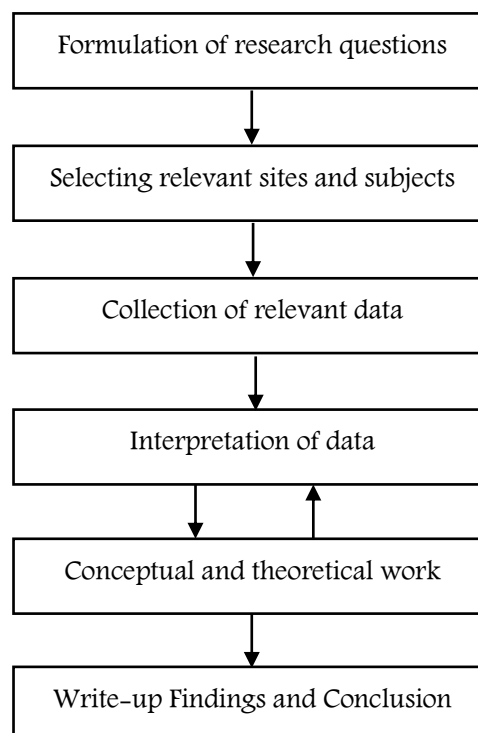


Figure 4.1: Step-by-Step process of conducting research

## 4.5 Research Questions

The wider aim of this research was to explore Succession in Family Businesses. Previous research has established that Succession in the Family Business is one of the most important events in a family business, perhaps, second only to the creation of the business itself. A successful succession may mean continuity of not only the business but also the economic security and welfare of the future generation(s). It will not be erroneous, then, to state that everlasting continuity of the business and the family is a prime aim of a Family Business or its owners. Succession therefore might emerge as a critical event in the life span of a family business. There are two broad notions that could be drawn from the previous literature. One that the long term continuity of the Family Business has been always the prerogative of the family business founder or the incumbent owner and therefore a majority of the studies on Family Business Succession have been conducted from the firms' or the founder/ incumbent owners' perspective (Birley, 1986). And two that Succession is a one off event that occurs at a certain point in the life cycle of the family business. Due to a reported high attrition rate within family businesses, succession planning has been greatly emphasised in order to arrest this high attrition rate by a number of researchers in the field.

This thesis proposes a slight departure from these two notions above. Although it may be true that Succession is a significant event in the life cycle stages of any Family Business, it is a result of a long process regardless of whether it was planned or unplanned. First of all this thesis attempts to study the issue of family business succession not from the firms' or the founders' perspective, but from the perspective of the young generation or the potential inheritor. This is done so as to provide a holistic and a comprehensive understanding of Succession. At the same time it is not assumed that either the older or the younger generation are willing to take over the family business. Since succession is proposed to be viewed from the young generations' viewpoint, it is suggested it be looked at as a career choice decision for him/ her which is one of broadly three choices namely: Joining Family

Business, Starting own business or Professional employment. Also, as Succession is intended to be looked at as a process rather than a one off event, combined with the proposed standpoint of the young generation, it is proposed that the Socialisation process be understood in order to make sense of the factors that might affect their Career Orientation.

Thus the research questions that are formulated as a result of addressing the gap in the literature are:

- What socialisation processes does the young generation from South Asian family business backgrounds undergo?
- What is the effect of socialisation on career outcomes among second generation British Asians of family business background?
- What is the effect of socialisation and career orientation on the Family Business Succession?

#### **4.6 Research Methods and Data Collection**

This research aims to understand the process of socialisation that the children of young British Asians from family businesses undergo and how that might influence their career orientation. The broader objective is to develop a renewed understanding of the succession in family business. Unlike previous research that is conducted from the perspective of the firm, the business founder or incumbent owner, this research aims to explore the phenomenon of succession from the potential inheritors' point of view. As previously stated qualitative methods for data gathering will be most suitable as it allows understanding the respondents' interpretation of the phenomenon from their own perspective.

#### 4.6.1 Sampling

A sample is a subset or a manageable sub-group of the large group or population about which the phenomenon has occurred. There are two methods of sampling: probabilistic also called as random sampling and non-probabilistic, non-random sampling. Probability sampling method is normally used in quantitative research with the aim of drawing statistically representative illustrations from a wide population (Rubin & Babbie, 2010). Non- probability gives a greater chance to understand and examine entities and the method allows the selection of specific people within a population to sample (Bryman & Bell, 2003). Due to the qualitative approach that is taken within this methodology the non-probability sampling method had been adopted. Also as is common in qualitative research, purposive sampling is used. The aim of using such type of sampling method is to be able to find new factors that will enable a fresh understanding of the phenomenon of succession in family businesses. An understanding of variation of experiences regarding socialization and career development and its effect on the phenomenon of family business succession was an important consideration for the choice of sampling method. The concept of purposeful sampling means that the inquirer selects individuals and sites for study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in this study (Creswell, 2007:125). Purposive sampling means the researcher aims to seek out people in the nature of study, locating certain predefined type of people e.g. South Asian convenience store owners within Edinburgh and surrounding cities.

The most appropriate to the research conducted here would be purposive and the 'snowball' sampling methods (Welsh, 2002). Once individuals were purposely selected, the 'snowball' technique was employed. Snowball sampling is a method which is used to gain access to other individuals for further interviewing (Fisher, 2010). The process of the snowball method is when a small sample of targeted individuals are investigated, and contacts known to or recommended by

the respondent are suggested, which goes on to become larger samples as the process continues (Saunders et al 2007).

In depth, unstructured, face to face interviews were conducted with members of the Asian community in Scotland. A total of 21 interviews were conducted. 16 of these interviews were conducted with members of 10 family businesses as well as other first and second generation members. These businesses were located in various parts in Scotland. Interviews were conducted mainly in Edinburgh, and some more in Glasgow, Dunfermline, Falkirk and Kirkcaldy. In addition to these a further 5 interviews were conducted with individuals that may be referred to as 'community insiders' and who are independent of the 10 Family businesses and are named as 'Key Informants'. These are individuals with insider knowledge about the Asian community members. They are selected on the basis of their experience and closeness with the Asian community and to get clarification on various issues raised in the interviews with members of Family Businesses.

The main criteria that was used in order to choose which businesses to interview was that the businesses were started by migrant parents of Asian ethnicity and the children were born and/ or brought up in the UK. The focus was on small businesses, mostly the retail units specialising in Grocery retail or CTN (Confectioners, Tobacconist and Newsagent) or restaurants and takeaways with a turnover ranging between £100,000 and £500, 000 and staff which is mainly members of the same family or co-ethnic labour ranging between 3 and 10. This was adhered to with an exception of one business which is a private nursing home with a turnover of £3 million and a staff of 90.

These businesses are in a state of transition as the young generation has grown up to an age where they can potentially succeed in the family business and are ready to make their decisions about whether or not they want to join the family business.

These 21 face-to-face in depth and unstructured interviews, as mentioned above, are from three groups of respondents namely First Generation (3), Second Generation (13) and Key Informants (5).

The First Generation (3) are the business founders. This group is comprised of those who were born in a country in the Indian sub-continent and immigrated to the UK either as children or adults and started a business in the UK. These businesses are now in a state of transition and therefore the significance of study at this stage of their businesses. Succession, successful or unsuccessful, will be decisive in determining the future of these businesses and also the future of the Asian ethnic entrepreneurship in Britain.

The Second Generation (13), the potential inheritors, are the main focus of this research. These are the young generation of Asians who are born and brought up in the United Kingdom and are in a position to make a decision regarding their future career. This decision is thought to have been influenced by the various factors that the youngsters experience in their lifetimes from their childhood till adulthood. This decision is understood to have a likely impact on the future of these youngsters' lives, the future of Asians in Britain in general as well as the continuity of Asian Family Business in the United Kingdom in particular.

The Key Informants (5) are a special group of people. These are people who have worked within the Asian community at various levels. They have worked or interacted with both generations, and are understood to have 'insider' information about the Asian community settled in the UK. The respondents in this group are Social Workers (2), a retired School teacher (1), a race and equality coordinator working within a Local Council in Scotland (1) and a respected community elder having run a successful business himself (1).

The number of interviews that were conducted was considered to be sufficient for the analysis. As the interviews progressed it was felt that all the



important issues had been identified. The saturation point had been reached and that any further interviewing would not have given any additional information. According to Mason (2010), 'there is a point of diminishing return to a qualitative sample' which means that as the data collection progresses more data does not necessarily provide more information. They further assert that in qualitative research the frequency of occurrence of data are not very important. Even if a code has appeared only one time then that is enough to ensure that it is part of data analysis and a single or a few incidences of the data are sufficient in understanding the process or the phenomenon being researched (Mason, 2010).

The table below presents a summary of the characteristics of all the respondents from all three data sources i.e. First Generation, Second Generation and Key Informants.

Informant Category and code assigned	Nature of Business	Age	Country of Origin/ Ethnicity	Order of Birth (2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation )	Educational Qualification	Current Situation Regarding Succession	Future career Plan
(First Generation) FG 1	Indian Restaurant	56	Pakistan	NA	None-left school	Children not interested in joining	Children will look for employment
FG2	Hardware store; Property	52	Pakistan	NA	High School-Joined brother's business at 16 years	Eldest son became Police Constable	No possibility of children joining business (parents have proposed closing hardware shop and opening high end restaurant; children still uninterested)
FG3	NTC	55	Pakistan	NA	Polytechnic Diploma (Pakistan)	Eldest son helping to run shop after completing degree	Wants elder son to continue looking after the family business; (son got first class in final dissertation and 2.1 overall)
(Second Generation) SG1	NTC (business shut down)	24	British-Pakistani	3rd	Degree in Medicine	Dad retired after closing shop; will pursue career in Medicine	Medical Doctor; no chance of joining business
SG2	Pharmacist and property;	27	British-Pakistani	1st	Masters in Pharmacy	Came back into business after being away for a few years due to conflicts with father regarding forced marriage	Currently working in Family Business along with cousins; likely to inherit the business but has aspirations to start his own venture
SG3	NTC (Business shut down)	20	British-Pakistani	2nd	Studying for degree in Accountancy	No plans of joining family business (wants a proper job)	Hates the idea of business mainly because of weak paternal bonding due to dad being away in the shop all day and week
SG4	Nursing homes	20	British-Indian	2nd	Studying for Degree in Medicine	Medical doctor; father doesn't deem girls suitable for succession; son not interested	No chance of joining family business; equates business with stress; would prefer a better quality of life
SG5	Dad manages pharmacist	25	British-Pakistani	1st	Masters in Pharmacy	Currently moving between low paid;	Finished degree but past family conflicts have closed doors on succession; Interested in arts or

	brother's properties; previously NTC and Post Office (shut down)					low skilled jobs	crafts career but discouraged by parents as arts not considered worthy of a prestigious career
SG6	Various over the years but none presently (mainly NTCs)	22	British-Pakistani	2nd	Studying for a Masters in Biology	Plans to pursue a PhD in Medicine	Business never a thought; would prefer an academic job
SG7	Auto garage and NTC	31	British-Pakistani	2nd	Degree in Bio-Chemistry	Bank clerk	Businesses shut after father's death; aspires to start own business; waiting for recession to pass
SG8	NTC	19	British-Pakistani	3rd	Studying for a Degree in Business and Economics	University student	No chance of joining business; youngest at home; elder brother joined business;
SG9	Clothing retail (now shut)	25	British-Pakistani	1st	None-left school at 16	Started own mobile car valeting business with money received as severance pay after lay off from job	Will continue running own business
SG10	NTC	20	British-Pakistani	1st	Studying for a degree in Chemistry	Studying biology at university	No plans to join business; will prefer employment
SG11	NTC (now shut)	29	British-Pakistani	3rd	Law graduate	Practicing lawyer	Family moved away from business; can't think of going back because of the drudgery involved in running the shop; fed up of shops
SG12	NTC; Grocery	26	British-Pakistani	2nd	Studying for a Business Degree	Running own property business with elder brother	Very entrepreneurial; wants to start multiple businesses; no chance of joining family businesses
SG13	NTC	24	British-Pakistani	1st	Degree in Business Studies	Joined family shop (Obligation of being eldest son)	Wants to convert shop into high end restaurant-father unwilling; was made to marry forcefully; didn't meet the girl (from Pakistan) until day of wedding

Table 4.2: Summary of Characteristics of respondents including First and Second Generation; Source: Author

(Key Informants)	Age	Country of Origin	
KI 1	67	Pakistan	Retired School Teacher
KI 2	45	Pakistan	Race and equality coordinator for local government
KI 3	37	Britain	Social Worker (mostly working with Asian women)
KI 4	60	Pakistan	Respected Community Elder
KI 5	43	Pakistan	Social worker (mainly worked with unemployed Asian youth)

Table 4.3: Summary of Characteristics of Key Informants; Source: Author

#### 4.6.2 Qualitative Interviewing

In order to understand the lives of both the first generation and the second generation and how their environments and the events that occur in this environment shape their lives, Life History approach is chosen. Life history method is an important method within qualitative research. A life history is a form of narrative or story that individuals tell about life as a whole or aspects of it. In this approach the researcher listens to a full length report by an individual about his/her life in that person's own words for the purpose of understanding a particular aspect or aspects of the individual's life (Saeidi, 2002). In order to understand not just the experience of the young generation but also their family's' experiences of living in Britain as a whole, the interviews were initiated by talking about their family histories, mainly from the point of migration, starting from the first person from the family who migrated to Britain, the circumstances surrounding his migration and their initial occupations. This not only helped in gathering useful insight into the early lives and settlement of migrants but also helped in creating a rapport with the research participants. This aspect of building a relationship with the participants helped to build trust with the participants. This building of trust was very useful later in the interviews as the participants opened their lives and intimate experiences that they had not shared with others before. This also helped to get an overview of succession in their families.

Also this approach was deemed most suitable in order to understand the career development among second generation participants. As has been established from the literature that choosing a career is not an isolated event in the life of an individual but it is a process that occurs over a period of life stages, hence it being called a developmental process. It has been widely reported in the literature on vocational choices and development that life history experiences have an influence on vocational behaviour (Snell et al, 1994). It is also argued that it is important to include both contextual variables and aspects of individuality in order to understand vocational development. Vondracek et al (1986) noted the need to

focus on the process of career development and Borrow (1966) argued that the process begins in early childhood because vocationally relevant behaviour of pre-employed youth is exhibited at that time. Similar to socialisation this needed understanding of the influences of factors on the development process not only at the time when the informant made the decision regarding career but also the background of development of the attitudes and beliefs about career that led him or her to make decision on that basis.

Life History Interviews were conducted with 16 respondents (13 from second generation and 3 from the immigrant first generation). In addition to this 5 further in-depth interviews were conducted with Key Informants. Questions were posed to the Key Informants about the concepts that emerged from the analysis of life history Interview data. This was done not only to develop a deeper understanding of the concepts of socialisation and career orientation and its effects on Family Business Succession, but also to provide validation to the data collection process.

Respondents were asked to narrate their biographies initially in a chronological sequence. In the interviews, respondents were probed deeper about certain issues that they mentioned in their biographies and particularly important was to understand their feelings about the issues that they described. The Life History method involves the reconstruction of the lives of one or more individuals; diaries and autobiographies are two of the most prominent basis for generating life histories (Bryman, 1988). Atkinson (1998) as cited in Thompson and Newby (2005) defined life story as, "the story a person chooses to tell about the life he has lived, told as completely and honestly as possible, what is remembered of it, and what the teller wants others to know of it, usually as a result of a guided interview by another". Although the respondents were asked to narrate in a chronological order, it was not merely a narration of events; it was also about the experiences that the respondent has about certain events and how those experiences might have shaped the preferences of the individual's personality. More importantly it

was necessary to understand how events related to socialisation such as racism, culture or religion might shape their orientation regarding their Careers, if at all they did. This is a respondent led process and also follows an unstructured format. Therefore a common neatly organised flow was impossible to have in all interviews. This method can be used to explore socio-cultural issues and may be particularly helpful in understanding the connection between individual's lives and important events that might be happening in his/ her life (Thompson and Newby, 2005). This was also used to research intergenerational issues, particularly regarding career choices and succession. Life History interviewing is a form of qualitative interviewing and the criteria regarding interviewing were kept in mind and attempted to be fulfilled. According to Rubin and Rubin (1995), "Qualitative Interviewers listen to people as they described how they understand the world's in which they live and work". This requires listening carefully to hear the meanings, interpretations and understandings that the respondent attaches to events in their lives and how they might influence their world.

#### 4.6.3 Sensitivity

The nature of some of the descriptions was deemed to be sensitive and, therefore, care was taken while probing deeper regarding such issues. It is generally understood that social issues related to sexuality, or abuse or issues that might be threatening to the research participant(s) can only be considered as sensitive. Although true, there may be other issues such as raised in this research about racism, particularly racist bullying in schools, the nature of relationship with parents, culture and religion as also considered as equally if not more sensitive.

Sieber and Stanley (1988) as cited in Lee (1993) define sensitive studies as follows,

*"Studies in which there are potential consequences or implications, either directly for participants in the research or for the class of individuals represented by the research".*

Sensitive topics could be those that involve particular costs to the participant such as guilt, shame or embarrassment (Lee, 1993). In the particular case of life history approach events from the past may trigger emotions as the participant may have been reminded of events that might bring about unhappy or negative memories which they might have otherwise not thought about but for their participation in the research.

#### 4.6.4 Data Sources

A number of locally based organisations were contacted in addition to the researcher's personal contacts. Some of the organisations approached are the Edinburgh Central Mosque, Shah Jalal Mosque, Hindu Temple, Asian Concern, Sikh Temple, Pakistan Society, Sangeet Mala and Holy Cow Performing Arts Group and some other individuals who have experiences of working closely with the community. One of the characteristics of this community is that it is a closed community i.e. a majority of their day to day interaction occurs within their own community. Even the legal and financial services that the businesses use are from within the community. A religious or a cultural centre is often a meeting point for these communities and there are limited opportunities for members of the community to interact with the local non ethnic population, although it was noted that the practices differ between the old and young generation.

#### 4.7 Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion

The data gathered from the interviews both life history and in-depth interviews is presented in the following chapters of this thesis. Due to the nature of the research design, data collection and analysis were carried out simultaneously. This process followed a step by step process. Below is a description of steps that were followed in the data analysis phase of this research.



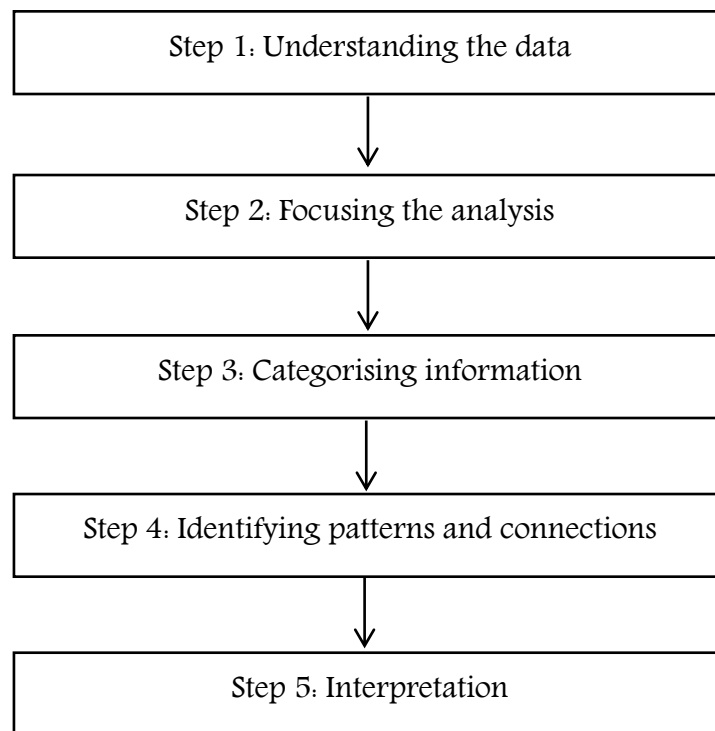


Figure 4.2: Step-by Step Process of Qualitative Data Analysis;  
Source: Adapted from Powell and Renner (2003)

**Step 1:** Get to know the data- Understanding the data: In this phase the data was read and re-read in order to develop an intimate understanding of the issues from multiple perspectives of the first generation, second generation as well as from the key informants.

**Step 2:** Focusing the analysis-purpose of evaluation: Here the analysis was conducted by both topics as well as by individual. This was deemed necessary because of the existing knowledge as well as openness towards emerging categories.

**Step 3:** Categorising information-Coding the data: This was the most important phase of the data analysis process. The objective in this phase was to bring meaning to words from the interviews. Codes show how we select, separate and sort data to begin an analytic accounting of them (Charmaz, 2006). This involved identifying themes or patterns i.e. ideas, concepts, behaviours,

interactions, incidents, terminology or phrases used. These were then organised into coherent categories with the aim of summarising and bringing meaning to the text. Qualitative codes take segments of data apart, name them in concise terms, and propose an analytic handle to develop abstract ideas for interpreting each segment of data (Charmaz, 2006:47). She further adds that 'coding is the pivotal link between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain these data. Through coding you define what is happening in the data and begin to grapple with what it means'. This was aimed to develop an understanding with the help of pre-set categories i.e. categories and themes that were known as a result of the literature review and emergent categories i.e. those that came to light through the text and involved finding the themes or issues that recurred in the data. According to Powell and Renner, (2003), this is an iterative process in which main categories may be broken into sub categories. The data was then then re-sorted into these smaller, more defined categories until no new categories emerged.

**Step 4:** Identifying patterns and connections within and between categories: This stage involved summarising the contents into each theme i.e. capturing the similarities and differences in the responses into a category. Focused coding was used i.e. using the most significant and/ or frequent earlier codes to sort through large amounts of data. Focused coding requires decisions about which initial codes (from the previous step) make the most analytic sense to categorise data incisively and completely (Charmaz, 2006). This was done within the context of understanding the key ideas expressed within the category and similarities and differences in the way people responded, including the subtle variations (Powell and Renner, 2003). After this categories were combined to give rise to larger categories based on how some of the sub-categories related to each other and to the larger theme and to understand how the data supported this process of combination of several categories.

**Step 5:** Interpretation-Bringing it all together: This stage involved using the themes developed in the previous stages in order to explain the findings, mainly

attempting to understand what does it all mean and what is really important. According to Powell and Renner (2003), interpreting data is about attaching meaning and significance to analysis. These are then brought together and together with the understanding developed from the present literature, each of the themes was discussed. This further informed the theoretical framework and helped shape the final emergent conceptual framework.

In chapter four the findings from this research are presented. This shows the outcome from the coding phase and the re-sorting of interview data according to the categories developed. This chapter also presents the six large or super categories or themes that were developed from the process followed as described in the step-by-step above.

Chapter five presents the discussion of each of these themes and the factors that contribute to their understanding in relation to the career pathways selected by the second generation members. Also a brief description is presented in tables illustrating the super category and its sub-factors. Following is a template of the tables presented.

Factor Type	Sub-Factors	Description
Name of factor	Sub-factor 1	Description of these factors and a brief understanding
	Sub-factor 2	
	Sub-factor 3	

**Table 4.4: Template of table illustrating themes and their description and understanding; Source: Author**

#### 4.8 Limitations of Data Collection and Quality of Findings

This section discusses the validity and reliability of findings of the research which means how believable the results are. In this section the credibility of findings and of the insights and explanations generated as a result of the research exercise are discussed. This means establishing the credibility of the results and

whether they are acceptable to others. The factors that are important to establish the credibility and authenticity of the research findings are validity and reliability. According to Bryman (2008:377),

*‘The feasibility or credibility of the account that a researcher arrives at is going to determine its acceptability to others. This entails both ensuring that the research is carried out according to the canons of good practice and submitting research findings to the members of social world for confirmation that the investigator correctly understood the social world’.*

Bryman (2008:377)

According to Lincoln & Guba (1985), in a qualitative investigation, trustworthiness is an appropriate criterion for assessing the validity and reliability of the research design and process. These authors as well as others such as Patton (2001) and Bryman (2008) also talk about the components to assess trustworthiness i.e. credibility, confirmability, transferability and dependability.

#### 4.8.1 Credibility

This means establishing how congruent the findings are with the reality Shenton (2004). Michael Patton proposed that the credibility of qualitative enquiry depends on three elements: rigorous methods i.e. doing fieldwork that yield high-quality data that are systematically analysed, credibility of researcher i.e. training, experience and track record of researcher and a philosophical belief in the value of qualitative inquiry i.e. a fundamental appreciation of naturalistic inquiry, qualitative methods, inductive analysis, purposeful sampling and holistic thinking (2001:552-3).

Shenton (2004) suggested a few criteria to establish and demonstrate credibility in a qualitative inquiry such as adoption of well-established research methods, triangulation, tactics to ensure honesty in informants, frequent debriefing sessions, thick description of phenomenon under investigation and examination of previous research findings.

In the present research the above criteria was adhered to. Life history and in-depth interviewing techniques were used that are well established tools for data gathering under qualitative inquiry.

**Triangulation:** 'In social science, triangulation is defined as the mixing of data or methods so that diverse viewpoints or standpoints cast light upon a topic' (Olson, 2004). According to Shenton (2004), triangulation may involve using different methods or data sources i.e. using a wide range of informants. This, he explains, is done with the objective of verifying individual viewpoints and experiences as against others and ultimately a rich picture or behaviours may be constructed based on the contributions of a wide range of people. The present inquiry employs triangulation of methods as well as data sources to satisfy this criterion. Interviews are conducted with members of the first generation, second generation as well as key informants i.e. community insiders; those people who have closely and directly interacted with members of the Asian community.

Though complete honesty in responding cannot be guaranteed, tactics to help ensure honesty in informants were utilised. All the informants were given the opportunity to refuse to participate which meant that only those who are genuinely willing took part finally participated in the research. Also it was aimed to establish a rapport in the opening moments and indicating that there were no right or wrong answers.

Frequent debriefing sessions were undertaken with supervisors as well as peers in order to help widen the vision of the researcher and look at alternative approaches to data gathering. The research while in progress was regularly presented to supervisors and colleagues at this university as well as in workshops and conferences at other universities and symposia and concerns about the research design, process and findings were incorporated.

#### 4.8.2 Transferability

This refers to the extent to which the results can be transferred or generalised to other contexts or settings such as the wider population which in the present context to the wider Asian family business community or to family businesses in general. Shenton, (2004), suggests that because the findings in a qualitative inquiry are specific to a small number of individuals, it is impossible to establish that the findings and conclusions are applicable to other situations and populations. Many naturalistic researchers believe that this is not possible in a qualitative inquiry because of the observations made in specific contexts. The aim of qualitative investigation is not to generalise across a population, rather the research seeks to provide understanding from the respondents' perspective. It tries to answer the question: 'what is so unique about this individual, group, situation or issue and why?' The objective is to seek insight, differences, the individual's own perspective and meaning (Powell and Renner, 2003). Shenton, 2004, suggested that although the researcher cannot make transferability inferences, the researcher must provide sufficient thick description of the phenomenon under investigation so that the reader can determine how far they can be confident in transferring the results and conclusions to other situations. Thick descriptions of the sample must be provided that aids the transference such as the number of organisations taking part in the study and where they are based, any restrictions in the type of people who contributed data, the number of participants involved in the fieldwork, the data collection methods that were employed, the number and length of the data collection sessions, the time period over which the data was collected (Shenton, 2004).

These details were described in the preceding sections in this chapter. Also the problems faced while data gathering particularly in accessing a certain group of potential participants based on gender and religious consideration are described later in this section Also a brief description of how these issues were negotiated is provided.

#### 4.8.3 Dependability

In the quantitative tradition reliability of results and conclusion is based on the assumption of replicability i.e. if the same observations were made with same participants using same methods would they produce the same results. Florio-Ruane (1991) informed that in qualitative research the researcher's observations are bound to the situation of the study, and suggested that 'published descriptions are static and frozen' in the 'ethnographic present'. Lincoln & Guba (1985), stressed that there are close ties between credibility and dependability and if measures are taken in order to establish credibility, dependability is ensured. Shenton (2004) advised that to address the issues of dependability the research process must be described in detail particularly focusing on describing the research design and its implementation, operational detail of data gathering and a reflective evaluation of the research.

In this research dependability is ensured first of all by fulfilling the criteria mentioned above to establish credibility and aiding transferability such as choosing well established data gathering methods, triangulation via methods and data sources, regular de-briefing with peers and supervisors, describing the data collection phase in detail, and describing the details of the sample and data collection process.

#### 4.8.4 Confirmability

This refers to keeping the interpretation and findings free from the researcher's bias i.e. the researcher's views or predispositions about the sample, the field of study or the meanings that he or she attaches to the findings. Confirmability refers to the degree to which the results could be confirmed or corroborated by others. Shenton (2004), suggested that steps must be taken to help ensure that the findings are the result of experiences and perceptions of participants and not of the characteristics or preferences of the researcher.

Triangulation, he suggests, is a way to reduce the effect of researcher prejudice. They further suggest that ‘a detailed methodological description enables the reader to determine how far the data and constructs emerging from it may be accepted’.

Quality criterion	Steps taken by researcher to ensure quality and trustworthiness
Credibility	Adoption of well-established research methods Triangulation via methods and data sources Tactics to ensure honesty in informants Frequent de-briefing sessions with peers and supervisors Thick description of phenomenon under investigation Examination of previous research findings
Transferability	Thick descriptions of the sample provided The number of organisations taking part in the study and where they are based The number of participants involved in the fieldwork The data collection methods that were employed The number and length of the data collection sessions The time period over which the data was collected
Dependability	Research process described in detail particularly focusing on describing the research design and its implementation; Operational detail of data gathering In-depth methodological description to allow study to be repeated
Confirmability	Triangulation to reduce effect of investigator bias Recognition of shortcomings in study's methods and their potential effects In-depth methodological description to allow integrity of research results to be scrutinised

Table 4.5: Table describing steps taken to establish validity and reliability

Source: Author

## 4.9 Limitations and important considerations

The sample selected was non-randomly and purposively selected and it was important for the participants to have trust in the researcher in order to be able to offer data freely. This was particularly important as many of the businesses approached were initially averse to sharing personal information. It was later



found that this was due to them suspecting the researcher as some official gathering information regarding taxes. However, this concern was addressed by getting some personal introductions to family business members and then using the snowballing approach.

Although it has been intended to maintain gender balance some parents did not allow interviewing female members of their families especially in isolation, resulting in a male member of the family present at the time of the interview, which did cause unnecessary bias in at least one participant's responses. This particular interview was later discarded as the interview was deemed to be almost hijacked by the male member present. He took the lead in answering the questions instead of allowing the intended participant to answer.

In order to avoid recurrence of such a problem it was thought to conduct the interview in a public place like a café or Library and, if possible, contacting the participant through other sources rather than through a reference from a family member. Although it solved the main problem, conducting an interview in a public place was noisy and audio recording was affected. This sometimes resulted in long hours in transcription. It would have been useful had I asked for help from a female colleague to approach female respondents and also if needed accompany me to the interviews.

#### 4.10 Ethical Considerations

The research was conducted within ethical boundaries following appropriate ethical practices. Although the entire research process was covered by the best ethical approaches, the most direct and visible of those was in the data collection stage. This was because of the direct connection through direct and personal interaction between the researchers and researched. Utmost care was taken to respect the sensitivities of the participant and their surroundings. Ethical considerations are not just about some technical rules that need to be followed

while conducting research but it is a moral responsibility of the researcher towards the entire research process in general and the research participant in particular.

According to Seiber (1993),

*“Ethics has to do with the application of a system of moral principles to prevent harming or wronging others to promote the good, to be respectful and to be fair”*

It is about protecting the individual, the community he/ she belongs to and the entire environment (Israel and Hay, 2006). In terms of formal guidelines, the University of Edinburgh Research Ethics Framework (Research Ethics Framework, 2008) was adhered to. In addition to this framework, the Economic and Social Research Council Framework for Research ethics was also followed (FRE, 2010). The ESRC Framework for Research Ethics clearly mentions their policy as,

*“The principal aim of the ethics review is, as far as possible, to protect all groups involved in research: participants, institutions, funders and researchers throughout the lifetime of the research and into the dissemination process”.*

The University of Edinburgh’s guidelines on research expect the research to be carried out keeping in mind the nine point framework that includes dignity, respect, care for others, honesty, integrity, objectivity, accountability, openness and leadership.

Below is a summary of the steps taken with respect to the guideline specified in the above two frameworks.

*“Participants in a study have the right to be informed about the aims and purposes of research and the likely publication of its findings, the context in which the findings will be reported and the potential consequences for individuals”*

(REF, 2008)

Before the start of each of the interviews the participants were fully briefed about the research objectives and the wider implications of the research. In the

cases where the participant was not so fluent in reading English or did not want to read themselves, the text was read out to them. In the cases where English was not the main language the research objectives and confidentiality and data protection policy was explained to the participant in their native language Urdu. After this was done, the participants were given the opportunity to raise any questions or request for any further clarifications. This resulted in a brief discussion about the research in general and in some cases the participants spoke about the problems that their business was facing. Some of these problems were about high council taxes, lower sales, sometimes about their lives in Britain away from their home countries and so on. Although some of these discussion were not directly relevant to the research but it was important from the point of view of developing a rapport with the participants so as to facilitate a good conversation regarding research.

#### 4.10.1 Informed Consent

One of the most important aspects of conducting social research is to get a voluntary permission from the participant about them sharing information about their personal and professional lives. This is generally referred to as 'Informed consent'. According to the University of Edinburgh Research Ethics Framework (2008),

*"Informed Consent should be sought where appropriate, and particular attention should be paid to any code of conduct governing the participation of children, vulnerable adults, the treatment of animals, or the use of human remains. Researchers should respect the cultural, religious, gender and other significant characteristics of sections of the population in planning, conducting and reporting research. Subjects of research are entitled to withdraw from participation at any time".*

(REF, 2008)

This was fully adhered to in the present research. A letter was printed on the university of Edinburgh letter head obtained from the Business School. The letter specifically contained two aspects: one that they are happy to take part in the research, and two that in the event of publication of research all participants and

their business entities' names would be kept anonymous. The letter also informed the participants that if they wished not to answer any questions they were free to do so and they can leave the interview whenever they want to. Not all participants were keen to sign on the documents mainly due to a lack of trust. This was respected and taken into consideration and in those cases a verbal consent was sought and these participants were reassured as were all other participants of how the data and information will be handled. They were reassured of the data protection legislation that the researcher is following. Also because the participants belonged to a community considered to be a cultural and religious minority in Britain, the cultural and religious sentiments of the participants was respected and attempt was made not to be disrespectful towards anything that the researcher saw at the locations or what the participants mentioned in the interviews.

#### 4.10.2 Data/ Information Storage

*"The storage, processing and disposal of information about individuals who are research subjects must meet legal requirements, including the individual's explicit written consent to the proposed holding and use of the data. Individuals' right to access and correct information held about them should also be explained"*

(REF, 2008)

In addition to the informed consent that was sought from all participants, they were also assured of the data protection procedures that were being followed in order to keep the data safe. A voice recorder was used to record a majority of the interviews. Permission for this was explicitly sought before the recorder was turned on. The participants were totally reassured that no one other than the researcher himself would have access to the recorded material. This was adhered to very strictly and also the recorded data was directly transcribed from the recording device. The data is transferred then to a secured temporary storage device such as a USB. The data will be destroyed according to normal academic practice. The data is intended to be stored till such time as some publications are made from the PhD thesis and when the data is no longer deemed to be necessary

for further academic work. This is estimated to be about two years after the award of the PhD.

In general, the research was conducted with pure intentions of contributing to our understanding of the broader research problem i.e. succession process within Family Businesses from the perspective of the young generation or potential inheritors. The researcher has tried his utmost in being fair and good intentioned in dealing with the participants, their environment and also being respectful and sensitive towards their cultural and religious backgrounds. According to Israel and Hay, 2006, "by caring about ethics and by acting on that concern we promote the integrity of research". The implications conducting research fairly and ethically can be very positive in particular about being more confident about the accuracy and originality of the results of the research (Israel and Hay, 2006).

#### 4.11 Summary

This concluding section summarises the philosophical deliberations and research design. It presents a synopsis of the choices made regarding research design, research methodology, and methods of data gathering, analysis and presentation of findings. Also it outlines the steps taken to ensure quality and trustworthiness of findings, limitations and ethical guidelines followed in order to conduct this research.

This study chose the interpretive paradigm as the guiding philosophical context with the aim to interpret the meanings that people attach to their perceptions and experiences. The research adopts a qualitative methodology with the aim of understanding the individuals' own accounts of their attitudes, motivations and behaviour in order to generate descriptive reports of individual perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, and feelings, the meanings and interpretations given to events and things. This research employs triangulation via methods and data sources and uses methods that are appropriate for each group of informants such

as life history interviews for second generation and in-depth semi-structured interviews for first generation and key informants. This was done with the aim addressing the concerns of validity and reliability and to establish trustworthiness of the findings and conclusions. The data analysis was guided by the initial conceptual framework. The data was coded using open coding and focused coding techniques. Content analysis methods were employed in order to identify themes, trends and patterns in the data.

The next chapter presents the findings in the form of a narrative and is organised according to the three broader themes of this research namely socialisation, career development and family business succession. It also displays the emergent themes or super categories which are then used to aid discussion in subsequent chapters.

## CHAPTER FIVE: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed account of the findings from the empirical data collection phase of this research. As mentioned in the literature review chapters, this thesis aimed to broadly explore and further expand understanding of succession in Asian family businesses in the United Kingdom. It was also proposed that the phenomenon of succession will be understood from the perspective of the potential inheritor. Therefore issues related to socialisation of these potential heirs, particularly in the mixed British Asian environment, and their Career Orientations were further explored.

Accordingly, this chapter is divided in line with the above three major themes i.e. socialisation, career orientation and family business succession. These themes are then individually divided into further categories as per the data obtained.

The first part discusses findings regarding socialisation of young Asians in Britain; the second part focuses on the career orientation, mainly the factors that influence the career decision making process and the third section focuses on succession itself. The quotations from interviews conducted with the three groups of respondents are organised in order to make sense of the data and to provide a coherent view of the complexity that was reflected through interactions between the researcher and those who were being researched. Although data from interviews conducted with three groups of respondents is presented, the focus of this research is from the potential inheritors' perspective and the implication of their career related decision on the long term continuity and sustainability of their family's businesses.

The methodology that has guided this data collection phase has been discussed and explained in chapter three. The focus of this present chapter is to organise, present and discuss the results of the empirical data collected using in-depth interviews. The three major themes of socialisation, career orientation and succession have been further divided in categories that emerged from the interviews and are helpful in building meaningful descriptions of the realities of the interview participants. The next chapter will discuss the findings with the relevant academic literature.

First a brief section on the arrival and business start-up process; highlighting the competitive advantage by the use of family labour and strategic opening hours and also the limitations to expand the business are presented. The following factors were identified within this category each of which is discussed below.


- 
- **Migration and Early Employment**
  - **Difficult Lifestyles**
  - **Sojourners**
  - **Socio-Economic Backgrounds**
  - **Business Start-ups**
  - **Success in Business**
  - **Success Factors**
  - **Contribution of Asian Businesses**

Figure 5.1: Characteristics of first generation migrants, early life, & business start-up and success; Source: Author



## 5.2 First Generation

### 5.2.1 Migration and Early Employment

The first generation migrated from India, Pakistan and East Pakistan (currently Bangladesh since 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1971). Most of the migrants came from semi-urban or rural areas. After the first wave of migration post World War 2, most of the aspiring migrants had known someone in the UK either through a relative, or a neighbour or even from the same town or village. As this first generation respondent described,

*"I had relatives here in Yorkshire...in 1980...there I went to a college for 2-3 months...to learn the English language...I learnt a bit of language there and I had a friend here in Falkirk...so I came here to see what he was doing...he was also in Yorkshire before and he came here...he was into the grocery business...I told him why don't you get me a business here...he got me into this business at that time...I must be about 20 years old."*

FG3

The above respondent started a business when he came to the UK. However, there were others who started life as factory workers. The quote below demonstrates,

*"I came in the 90s...my brother was here he came in the early 60s...it was very hard...as he told me...and my uncle also came about one year before him...he worked hard and had a difficult time...worked in factories...even up to 18 hours a day...even afterward when the shops started they worked from early morning to 10 pm..."*

FG1

### 5.2.2 Difficult Lifestyles

The early migrants had difficult lifestyles and saving money was the dominant motive as the response below demonstrates,

*"at that time they would not have fridges...and they would cook food and keep it in the cellar...halal food wasn't there...they had to go far to get it...they would get on the weekend...they did not have phones or television...they just had work and earn money...people used to share rooms...all the people who would*

*come from Pakistan would come to people they knew...and they would share and save money...they had come alone without their families..."*

FG1

These lifestyles were centred on enormous sacrifices, and sharing was one quality that they developed. This also demonstrates the extent to which they were prepared to go.

*"There were enormous sacrifices that were made by the older generation...there were 10 people sleeping in a room and there was only place for 10 people and 20 people were sharing the flat...the 10 people would come from the morning shift and the people who would be sleeping in those places would go for their night shifts and the people who came in would sleep in the same places..."*

FG1

### 5.2.3 Sojourners

The early migrants were willing to make these sacrifices as they were mostly living without their families. Most of them had not brought their families along as Britain was only seen as a temporary abode and they never had the intention to stay any longer than needed. The term *Sojourners* is used to describe these early temporary migrants. However, they all ended up permanently settling in the UK and circumstances like British lifestyle, the provision and quality of care attracted them to settle permanently. Shahid's reflections on this issue clearly showed these deliberations.

*"When people came for the first time they came with an idea that they will go back...they came to conduct business or work, earn money and then go back and establish themselves back in their homeland...but then circumstances transpired in such a way ...like they got married and had occupations here and more importantly our children were born here...we could not take them back...their education was done here and the objective was that we will take them back when they grew up...but when they grew up they did not want to go back"*

FG1

Children's education, as reflected above, as well as high quality of health care was also a reason that attracted people to settle permanently in Britain. As Wasim, a 2<sup>nd</sup> generation entrepreneur remembers,

*“one thing I have known about my dad...that he was like a lot of people of that age...come over make money and go back...They did not go back...I believe...first of all...children are here...the biggest thing that I think which influences many people is the care service...it's the system that's so good here...”*

SG12

Yasir, FG2 who came as a child migrant, first to Belfast and then moved to Edinburgh when he started his first grocery store, had similar reflections,

*“I think my dad's idea was to go back and that's why he did not want us to come over...it was my uncle who persuaded him to bring his family here...so we came over...he was keen on making enough money and buy a farm and settle down there...my uncle was educated and he had a wider view of things and he persuaded my father that we would be better off here with the education and all that support that is here...so when we came over it was a little bit of an upheaval...his aim was you know in 4-5 years buy a farm...which he did...he did buy a farm...but then obviously we had settled here.”*

FG2

Malik Bilal, FG3, had come to the UK with a clear ambition of staying for a few years, earn money so that he could invest in Pakistan and go back permanently.

*“the ambition that I came with to UK from Pakistan...that I achieved in 10 years...I went back to Pakistan for the first time after 10 years...I came in 1980 and I went back for the first time in 1989...at that time...whatever I wanted to build there...that was done”*

FG3

He later told me that he has been able to build a stone and cement tile manufacturing factory in Pakistan and also bought farmlands and built a farmhouse. And he had absolutely no doubt that he would go back. In fact Malik still harbours hope of returning back to his homeland, he says,

*“This was something that I was clear in my mind about...I had thought that I will be here for 5-10 years...and then go back...when people come here...they see things here...they get married and have children...and then they are stuck here...I want to stay there and not here....but kids are here and I there...that will also be difficult there. We came for about 10 years and then stayed back after kids were born...which means that we came here to earn something and have stayed here to lose something ('aaye the kuch kamane ke liye...ab reh gaye hein kuch gawane ke liye')...those who are born here...they will not go back”*

FG3

The intention to return back slowly died and the quality of life in the UK was a big influencing factor as Ahsan, a second generation entrepreneur reflected,

*“the first generation came over from Pakistan thinking that they will be here for a year or two years...make some money and go back home...what happened was that they have come here set up businesses and actually liked the quality of life here and thought they stay here for another two years and then another two years...they brought their family here and this became home...they set up businesses and started to concentrate on business”*

Ahsan, SG

#### 5.2.4 Socio-Economic backgrounds

Earning money was in fact a necessity as they had come from very poor backgrounds and coming to the UK was like an escape route not only for them but for their entire families back home. Imran, from the second generation, who has now joined the family business, so remembers,

*“They were very poor...very poor...because my granddad passed away when my father was very young...he was I think about 5 years old...(and) because they did not have anyone to depend on (my father started working at an early age)...basically my dad said he used to work in making locks...like a blacksmith...and then a farmer...”*

Imran, SG

Migrating to the UK to work and then later on starting their businesses without much training and education was an escape from a poverty trap for the first generation. Saeem Walid, who works as a coordinator with FRAE-Fife reflects,

*“The first generation...right...purely from that background...right...they were not trained as businessmen, they came from rural areas and opened businesses and put in long hours which in the long term have impacts on their health but they told that it was still a blessing for them to get out of the poverty trap from the initial migration from third world countries”*

KI 2

#### 5.2.5 Business Start-ups

Once the sojourner issue was cleared and settlement began, they had to find new work as the factories were closing down. The pattern of occupation that emerged was clear. The choice of opening up grocery stores or newsagents was not immediate and as straightforward as it may seem today. After the factories started

closing down, employment became scarce. Many chose door to door selling and many others took up low level occupations for example in transport as helpers or cleaners and later as drivers. Shahid Mehmood recalled an experience with one of his relatives who was a door to door salesman and recalled that it was not an easy job.

*"I remember there was someone from our family who came and he would buy stuff and go door to door...they would knock doors and people knew that people from India or Pakistan were doing this sort of job...sometimes they would shut their doors on them...sometimes...they would keep their foot in the door so that before they close the door we would show our stuff..."*

FG1

Yasir reflected upon this process clearly, he said,

*"there is a system in Asians, first they were all working in factories, from factories they started migrating into proper jobs like trains and bus driving and then they moved a little bit into markets, you know, there used to be big markets on a Sunday in Edinburgh, one in New Castle on Tuesday so different days in different places and they would go there and sell their stuff, so the markets died off so the people started going to retail stuff, most had experience of clothes so some of them went into retail shops and some, here in Scotland, went into grocery stuff and also in Glasgow there was a big Asian Population and that's why grocery stores were so popular. It was a catch on thing you know...like one is making money so another one opened up and then another one opened up."*

FG2

But it was not an easy job, serving white customers with minimal command over the English language. Malik Bilal, vividly recalls his early and difficult learning experiences in the words below, he said,

*"my friend helped me to get a shop...but that did not work out...as I did not know English...customers would ask me something and I would not understand what they were saying...so there was a friend who used to come and sit with me...he would come every day and buy stock for me...I did not have a license as well...so this happened for a day, 2 days...three days...the fourth day a customer came and asked for the same thing that he had been asking for the first three days...and I used to tell him every day that I don't have it...I could at least say 'Yes' or 'No'...so I again said No...and then my friend who was there slapped me and said I have got that in stock for you why do you still say No...and then I never stopped...I learnt a lot of things..."*

FG3

### 5.2.6 Success in Business

Slowly, after the initial struggle, the businesses started catching up and they started to see sales rising and money started to come in. Shahid Mehmood, First Generation had proud memories of that time as he said,

*"Initially they struggled but then they also saw this era when there were businesses at every corner run by Pakistanis...there used to be queues...after Christmas all shops were closed except ours. They used to let 15 people in and close the door...when these 15 have bought then they would allow another 15 customers in...it used to be so busy..."*

FG1

Yasir who opened a hardware store after closing down the grocery store mentioned that they were doing business beyond their expectations, he said,

*"At that time there was only one hardware store, the expenditure was very low and the sale was good so there was a good profit margin. It was like needles to lighters to matches. There was always stuff from China and it was cheaper so the people caught on with the idea and it was latest things like digital watches at that time it was £39.99 and then there were alarms, the melody alarms that was a big thing. We estimated sales of about £3000 per day and we got a sale of about £12000 on our first day. There was a queue from the shop door to the festival theatre (about 100 meters). The stuff that we were selling was not even sold by Tesco in those days like video tapes were new then, we sold pallets and pallets of video tapes. It was like iphone, it was a big thing. We were selling cheap video tape for 99 pence (Chinese made) and the price of original was £2.99. We were selling all brands and then VHS took over and then we were selling radios"*

FG2

Success led to further success and they had started to look at more avenues to open shops. Malik Bilal, First Generation, who owns a NTC shop at a popular location in Edinburgh and a number of commercial properties that he gives out for rent said,

*"So this shop did well and after that we learnt to move ahead...then we would buy shops and then sell it...and make money...we did everything with honesty...we never sold anything that was stolen...that sort of thoughts were never there..."*

FG3

### 5.2.7 Success Factors

When asked about their factors of success Yasir replied,

*"Definitely hard work and determination. Hard work and having a go"*

FG2

And he owed this to their cultural traits and that they had no other options as he said,

*"I think it is cultural you know...and also that we had to do it ...it was not that we had a choice...either do it or leave it like that. At times we had a race with other families. We were competing against each other...they were buying we are buying and things like that"*

FG2

This success did not go unnoticed by` compatriots in Pakistan and then they all wanted to come here to the 'land of plenty'.

*"people back in Pakistan would see that they have worked and made money and even sent money back to their families in Pakistan...they saw that the standard of life of people who came to UK and their families in Pakistan was better...they had more money..."*

FG1

#### 5.2.8 Contribution of Asian Businesses

Asian businesses were not only improving the economic status of these entrepreneurs and their families in the UK but also in Pakistan. At the same time they were making a very subtle difference to the mainstream British society. Dr.Anwar Waleed, a retired Secondary School teacher from Glasgow of Pakistani origin who participated in this research as a Key Informant, recalled,

*"the shopping habits in our country....we have made ASDA do 24 hours now...the Tesco do 24 hours and Sunday opening and so on...so the shop keeping in this country... the people used to open the shops at 9 am and shut at 5pm...so we introduced the phenomenon..."*

KI 1

He further recalled,

*"the contribution of Indian restaurants in the country...as we introduced affordable restaurants to most of the community where people can come and have a meal...otherwise going into a hotel is very expensive...so Pakistanis and Indians opened these restaurants and made eating out affordable...so we have had a tremendous effect on not only the menus or eating habits...but on the whole culture...going for Indian food is a common phenomenon..."*

KI 1

### 5.2.9 Competitive Advantage

Most of this success was based on the competitive advantage that these businesses had developed and that was working long hours and using family labour to look after the shops.

Malik recalled that although the shop opened long hours, they used to be busy only when the other shops were closed i.e. mostly in the evenings and Sundays.

*“the Scottish shops would open at 9am and close at 5pm...Wednesday was a half day and Saturday was a half day and they would not open on a Sunday...and we would do good business between 5pm and 10pm...and no other shops there would be open...and we made money at that time...we opened at 7am...we would do business in the day time as well...but evenings we would be busy...I had my family together...my sister was there...her children were there and my two brothers were there...”*

FG1

Sonia from the second generation has completed her Accountancy degree at University recalls her father’s work timings as,

*“When he had his own shop he would leave at 5 in the morning and come back at about 9 at night and he would work 7 days a week but he would shut the shop at around 5pm on a Sunday.”*

SG3

Altaf from the second generation, who has now completed his medicine degree and works as a doctor with the NHS, experienced working in his father’s shops and all family members took turns. He recalls,

*“I was kind of helping out at the weekends and as and when I could and obviously it was a family run business and my mother was helping out as well. On weekends he (father) would go to sleep between 2 to 4 in the afternoon and me and my sister would take care of the shop and my mother although she was not too well educated but she could speak good English and she really had good manner and she would serve customers and my dad would rest up. “*

SG1



Amir from the second generation has decided not to join the family business and instead works at a call centre in Edinburgh recalls that his family members worked in the family business. He said,

*“my mum used to work at the chemist as well for a little while. It was a family business and so did the middle brothers wife and it was like a family run business”*

SG5

Khalil, from the second generation, who is now working in a bank in an administrative position, recalled his family members taking turns in attending to the shop. He said,

*“the shop was our main business in which we all sort of worked mainly. The shop opened at 7 in the morning and closed at about 7 in the evening and generally my mum was there all day and me and my sister would go in the afternoon after university. On the weekends I would go on a Saturday afternoon with my brother and on Sunday and my mother would stay home and also over the school or university holidays. I have been going to shops since I was about 14-15 years old. And at the time of university I would take my mom’s place in the afternoon and during the holidays my brother would go in the morning and me and my sister would go in the afternoon. So I have been going every day for a good while, so I could run the shop and I knew how to run it.”*

SG7

#### 5.2.10 Barriers to Further Business Expansion

Despite the success, most of the first generation entrepreneurs could not go beyond one or a few more shops and a few properties. Although this may be above average than most UK households, they do lament their lack of education and business know-how that could have led them to further expand their businesses. Yasir, who had opportunities to open new shops, was constrained by these factors. He remembers,

*“I think we could have taken it a step further if we were educated you know. None of the brothers were educated, we have been at school level and that’s it if we had been to college it must have been a different thing. We made ourselves into businessmen we were self-made; we did not suddenly become businessmen. We had the opportunity but we did not have the know-how to go to the next*

*level, like have a manager here and open branches because we had something new”.*

FG1

Not only did they have lack of education and business know-how, they also had a lack of trust as they did not want to leave their shops to others and expand. Yasir, recalls the opportunities that they had but could not pursue.

*“there was also that thing that if we leave it to managers will they steal everything so you need somebody here you know like a family member and we were reluctant to do that you know like in Dundee and all these north areas there was opportunities there and we looked at shops and then we thought that splitting ourselves up would not be good and then we sort of stepped back”*

FG1

#### 5.2.11 Competition from Supermarkets

More recently though, the businesses have started to produce low returns. This is mainly due to the competition from supermarkets like Tesco and Sainsbury's who have used an aggressive marketing strategy and opened up Tesco Metros, Tesco Express and Sainsbury's Local in the cities as compared to big superstores at select locations. As Malik, whose business has been affected, says,

*“a Tesco has opened nearby...it has affected our business...a shop next to us has closed down...we are doing alright...I am now thinking of converting this into a restaurant...we have two floors...we will make into a restaurant...this is the children's wish...”*

FG3

Shahid too is wary about the change in fortunes. He said,

*“Now the superstores have opened, the markets have closed...stores are selling everything...”*

FG2

The above section looked at the brief history of migration of Asian communities from the respondents' perspective. It also covered the important

development post settlement such as their lifestyles, decision to start businesses and subsequent success. It looked at the contribution of Asian businesses and the competitive advantages that they developed that led to their success in the small retail sector. In addition to this the section above also looked at the limitations or barriers to growth and perceived external threats to these businesses and its potential implications on the future of Asian small businesses.

The next sections presents findings from the interview data pertaining to socialisation of young Asians from family business backgrounds, their perspectives on Career Orientation and the effects of these on the Continuity of Asian Entrepreneurship in the UK.

### 5.3 Socialisation, Career Orientation and Succession

The three broad themes as discussed in the following section are Socialisation, Career Orientation and Succession. In the following sections the findings from interview data is organised and presented according to these three major themes. Finally, in the next section, the concepts emerging from the analysis of the three themes and how they may have impacted the career decision making among the potential inheritors as a result of analysing the sub-categories will be discussed. An initial framework will be developed that will then be used to discuss further along with relevant academic literature in the next chapter. It is anticipated that a theoretical framework will emerge that can be used as a basis to conduct further research on the young Asian community and Succession in family businesses and on other ethnic communities.

The following sections are divided according to the categories identified during the analysis of interview data and are presented below. These are being shown as interconnected rings as each category is not isolated from each other and there are significant overlaps that help to understand the categories in a better way. For example the influence on experiences on the children due to the

interaction between family members due to certain cultural practices such as status and prestige are categorised under 'Family' as well as 'Culture'.

### 5.3.1 Socialisation

This section looks at the findings of data that relates to the process of Socialisation of youngsters from family business backgrounds in the UK. It particularly looks at the factors that affect socialisation and also how these may have affected the youngsters' outlook towards their life in UK, their attitudes towards their own family businesses, towards the society in which they live in and their own future in this country. The young generation are born in the UK as opposed to their business founder parents and are, therefore, subjected to a dual culture that is comprised of Asian as well as British values. The outcome has been mixed in which they have adopted values from both cultures that has led to a bicultural identity (or a triple layered one for some as they regarded that their identities are shaped not only by their cultures but also their religion).

The interviews focussed on their experiences from childhood till adolescence and looked at factors such as religion, culture, race, identity, parents influence, social expectations, and influence of growing in a business family, and growing up and living at the margins of a dual culture.

#### 5.3.1.1 Religion and Culture

Religion and Culture are two concepts that are entwined with each other within the Asian society. As the children were born and were growing up in the UK they started interacting with children from other cultures predominantly the white majority mainly at school. This soon became a matter of concern for the parents regarding the future of children in this country. Immigrants, perhaps, feel a need to preserve their religions and cultures in a perceived hostile society. The parents were able to do that without any contamination as they never mixed with the host

society. Due to that they were able to preserve their cultural traits such as language, dress, religious practices like fasting, praying or going to the mosque. The only interaction that they had with the host society was what happened between a shopkeeper and its customer which was limited. However, they feared a dilution of cultures and religion among the younger generation due to intermixing with other faiths and religions at school. For the children it meant more and more religious and cultural indoctrination, both at home as well as outside through religious schools run at local mosques and madrassas. This section looks at the responses in interviews and understands how religion and culture might have a role in the socialisation of the potential inheritors.

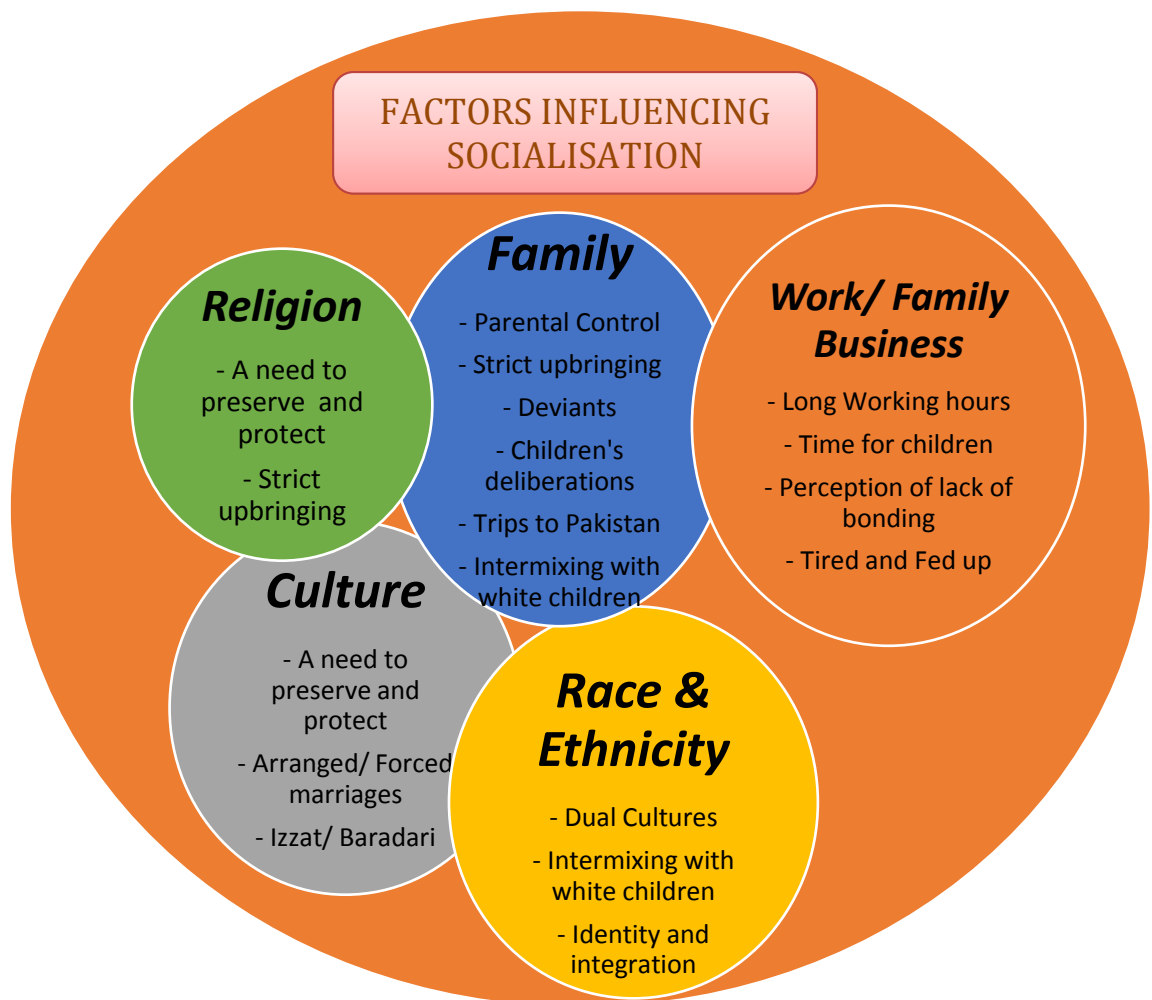


Figure 5.2: Factors Influencing Socialisation; Source: Author

### 5.3.1.2 A Need to Preserve and Protect

Perhaps, culture was used as a tool to preserve their ethnic identity, but religion went a bit further. It went further not only in terms of giving the children a set of moral values to lead their everyday lives but was also intended to act as a shield to protect them from the perceived evils prevalent in the western society that they thought emerged from acts such as gender inter mixing and consumption of alcohol. This, as Sonia thought, must have prompted her mother to do things that she would not have done had they not been living in the UK. As she wondered why her mother insisted so much on learning their religion and culture, she said,

*"My mum was very much into bringing us up in the culture and religion. I remember when we were young my mother would never talk to us in English, it was always Urdu. She did not want us to become very like English. My mum was like...you are going out learning English and you also have to learn your own culture and she would teach us that. Even when we were young she would make us wear Asian clothes and when we were a little older like 6 years old or something my mum really pushed us towards the religion. She would send us to the mosques and stuff and even though I told my mum that we learn Alamiyat (religious and moral education) at school she would still push us towards it because in school in that subject they did not teach Islam and my mum said that you need more knowledge to gain more knowledge and my mum pushed us to fast and to pray"*

SG3

Apparently, this focus comes from the perception that British culture is unsafe for children and the parents perhaps had a fear that the children would lose their religion and culture, as Sonia recalled,

*"Well, back home (in Pakistan), my family is not so much into religion; she only pushed us because we were living in this country and that we might lose it."*

SG 3

Rukhsar, SG4, who is a doctor and also works part time in her father's nursing homes is of the view that parents thought religion is the best way to avoid the risk of children going haywire as this new society had the potential to spoil and lead them astray from the path that religion teaches them, she said,

*"definitely my parents tried to instil the sense of 'muslimness' or religion in me...and they did not want us mixing too much...they wanted our cultural values being instilled in us...they did think in this country it is risking, dangerous and they could go haywire...but they are quite closed...they have always remained closed...they have told us we are Indians...we are not British....first of all we are Muslims and then we are Indians...so if you have problems then you go to your own and this possibly gives you a way of life...and you can't possibly go off track...that's the way I think it is justified...and if you follow that you are going to be fine"*

SG 4

Religion is a factor that has tremendous importance in the socialisation process of the children of immigrants. All 16 participants are Muslims from Pakistani parentage except one from Indian parentage. Religion is a foundation of their identity and culture. Children are introduced to religion and Asian culture by their parents in their households at a young age and the parents have the biggest initial influence. Inter mixing, as Rukhsar said above, was not allowed. Arbaz's father wrote to his school to not allow him and his sister to take part in singing hymns. He said,

*"At first it was difficult to do the same activities like they were doing. In the first school, that we went to, they were doing hymns, my father wrote a letter to the school like not to take part because of religion reasons. And they overcame that by allowing us to stay in the class room so while they were away singing hymns we were actually in the class rooms or doing other activities"*

SG2

#### 5.3.1.3 Parental Control

Parental control, strict or subtle, was a critical influencing factor in their socialisation regarding religion. Rukhsar recalled that her parents' ways were subtle and slow and even in families that were not overly religious, getting children into religion might be a way to control them, as she recalled,

*"Yes my parents were keen on us getting a religious education and the cultural aspect. I was an obedient kid. Initially they were not religious at all but when we started to grow up they realised that it might be advantageous to them but they didn't start me up at five and said you are going to do this or that you are going to do that...it was slowly done. So we never noticed it and we never resisted it"*

SG4

#### 5.3.1.4 Strict Upbringing

Children usually followed a strict routine. This involved attending regular school in the day and then attending a religious school in the afternoon. Some children perceived their upbringing as strict, as Wasim recalled,

*"It was a strict upbringing. After school I was heading to the mosque and then home, food, catch up with the family and that's it. Weekends it was helping out with the shop, visiting the family, it was always a mom and dad schedule"*

SG 12

Also Arbaz, from the second generation who now works in a pharmacy, recalled,

*"After our school we used to go to madrassa. So that was a whole day's kind of work. The madrassa used to be 2 hours each day and we went for about 4 to 4 and half days. This is where we would learn the Quran. We didn't have any say but it was extremely important to have religious education"*

SG2

Cultural symbols such as wearing a salwar kameez with dupatta or wearing a hijab were insisted upon by parents on their children. This was seen by Rukhsar as a way to control children. She recalls,

*"I was a bit messy...I would put it (Hijab or head scarf) on when I left home and then I would take it when I was at school...I did not really understand...I was only 10...so my sister was doing it and my mom was encouraging it...my dad didn't want us to go out without wearing it...he wanted us to wear a Hijab...its like when you are wearing a hijab you can't go to a club...you just can't do it...so they always tried to ...your parents try to control you..."*

SG 4

In some cases children were scared into following religion as Yaseen recalled a particularly bad experience in which he was forced by his uncle to follow religion.

He recalled,

*"When I was 13-14, my uncle sat me down and scared, excuse my language, but he scared the shit out of me, absolutely scared the shit out of me. I was just 10 years old and he told me that you will go to hell; there will be snakes in your stomach. I mean how could he do it. He is really heavily into it and he basically*



*scared me into it and I have that, kind of, bitterness towards him. It just kind of took away two years of my life. He controlled two years of my life. I did it for about 2-3 years just because he scared a child into it. So I just rebelled and I started thinking about it a lot more and realised that things are not that extreme"*

SG8

However, while religious education was important it was not always a source of pressure for all children as Khalil, recalled,

*"I used to go to the mosque to read Quran, just at the weekends, while I was in Edinburgh throughout school. There was not so much pressure of being religious. But now I am older I do all that myself"*

SG 7

### 5.3.1.5 Deviants

So although, parents thought that the children may go to a wrong path, the children did not always follow what the parents intended. As Yaseen recalled,

*"When I was younger my mum kind of tried but I would dodge it. They tried to pressurise but I would subtly dodge it like come out with excuses. But that's gonna be with me for the rest of my life...because sometimes you just want to chill out...watch games with a glass of beer...but it is not a bad thing...it does not mean that I am going to rape someone...but no you cannot do that"*

SG 8

Amir from the second generation said it was a clash between family expectations and personal desires. He said,

*"my parents were like you should not go to the bars...like what's wrong about going to bars and watch football?...and they would think that people go there and drink alcohol and they are dirty people but I quite like going to the bar and its good atmosphere and I watched the world cup there and it was awesome...everyone cheering for their team. I know it can get messy sometimes...but my parents would totally disagree with that"*

SG

For those who would obey it was OK but for those who did not or went against, life was not that easy. Yaseen had a particularly bad experience when he told his parents that he did not believe in religion at all.

*"When people in my family found that I am an atheist they freaked out...I had to backtrack quickly and I had to apologise and I said 'I believe in it'...'I believe in it'...'I believe in it'...and I had to apologise quickly...I was seen as the wee devil...like a shaytan in the family...I was like, 'why are you judging me'?...I hated it...all my aunties and there was so much hatred that was thrown my way...and then I had to backtrack"*

SG 8

#### 5.3.1.6 Children's Deliberations

These activities led the children to follow what their parents wanted; however, it also led them to deliberate upon these practices and sometimes question why their parents wanted them to follow religion. This happened particularly because in school when they met up with children from other backgrounds they found a mis-match.

As Sonia recalled,

*"When festivals would come up or when Christmas would come up we really discussed this kind of stuff. And we would ask how our religion is different and yes, we would discuss with my English friends and they would ask why you are practising it when you are living in this country so I really thought it was quite funny. So we would ask our mum you know why we are doing this and she would say that just because we are living in this country we cannot explore different cultures and religions. And so my mum asked us to do it and we would go to the mosque and stuff"*

SG3

*"At that time I was very young so I wanted to be in between and I would ask does my religion really exist. I was about 9 or 10 years old and this was a big topic. Also because Christianity is very close to Islam and I would ask how come we are so different and I thought because they are living here they must be right and that their religion must exist, but now when I think about it, it all seems ok."*

SG 3

But although they questioned it, they justified it in the end, as Sonia said,

*"When I was young we thought that why she would want us to do that. I mean we didn't need it. To think about it now, it was part of your identity as a Pakistani girl. I think that is more important. I think the more you grow up, the more you learn. I think it is really important."*

SG 3

### 5.3.1.7 Trips to Pakistan

Some parents even went as far as sending their children to Pakistan to learn the culture or religion as they thought it would be delivered to them in the purest form. Imran from second generation who has joined the family business after completing his university education had this experience. He said,

*"I went away to Pakistan and I stayed there for one year. When I was 10 years old my dad wanted me and my brothers to study in Pakistan and gain more of an insight about the culture, the background and upbringing in Pakistan"*

SG 13

He further added that it was a common thing in their family as he recalled his cousins also made similar trips. He recalled,

*"It was very common because my cousin went as well. It is still happening, not within our family, but I have seen this quite a lot. Other families send their children back home because they want the upbringing, to get the religion, culture and language as well. They did not want their children to lose the identity so that's why they sent them back"*

SG 13

In some cases these trips were not just for them to learn the culture or religion but also for children to be disciplined if their parents thought that they were not on the right path. Yaseen experienced this in his family when his elder brother was sent to Pakistan to learn discipline.

He recalls,

*"My brother was sent to Pakistan when he was 12 years old. He was a bit of a problem child. He was a bit of a wild child. He was hyper and my parents freaked out a little bit excessively. I don't think they needed to go to that length. He used to muck about in school a bit and then he got caught on the phone with a girl and my dad freaked out and it was a little bit excessive to send him to Pakistan and learn discipline and he was a bit cross about that"*

SG 8

### 5.3.1.8 Arranged/ Forced Marriage

The practice of arranged marriages has been a common one among the Asian community. Although parents have attempted to find a match for their children in the UK Asian community, getting a match from Pakistan is not uncommon. Particularly problematic, as perceived by some members of the second generation, is the practice of forcing children into marriages as Imran, who was interviewed just a few days before he was supposed to go to Pakistan to get married, described his situation. He said,

*"my dad is trying to get me married back home...it is more of a forced marriage...he got my engagement done without my knowledge of it and after that now...hopefully...probably next month I will have to go away and get married to someone...I have no say...I have tried but...they don't really listen and stuff...it is a common thing...very very common"*

SG 13

Yaseen, although has no plans of getting married just yet but is already seeing trouble brewing ahead between him and his mother as she wants to find him a girl from Pakistan. She wants to find someone who knows her culture well, meaning someone who can make 'round round rotis'.

As Yaseen explained,

*"with the marriage aspect I am a lot more free...its not about the skin colour or the race or their background or whatever...its about the girl and if she is good and if she is right for me...its great if she makes me happy...I am not going to choose a bad girl for myself...but my mum I tried to explain that to my mum...she was having none of it...she wants her to make round round rotis and I was like mum that's not important...I was like...I can cook...she will be able to cook...but she is like...NO...so I see trouble there ahead"*

SG 8

Imran says that this is a common thing among many families. He has seen it before in his family as he says,

*"My cousins also was in the same position...my friends are not married as well...but it happens a lot...whether it's a boy or girl...if they are born here and then they try to find someone there to get married"*

SG 13

Imran has given in to his father's demands as he thinks he cannot go against his father's wishes, however, there may be those who go against their family's wishes as he described,

*"some people who are very confident and if they don't really bother about their families' feelings then they are clear and say that they don't wanna go ahead...but I have kind of given in because of not to disappoint family and stuff...I am disappointed...a lot of depression...but I will see what happens....I try to avoid it until the last day...every time I think of it...it just brings me to depression"*

SG 13

For those who go against their family, they might end up leaving their home. Arbaz experienced such a thing. He questioned his dad's decision and refused to get married to someone his father wanted him to.

He recalled his experience below.

*"The main situation what happened was to do with my marriage...because I wanted to get married to Fareeda; this was like an important decision. Things were not working out. Communicating to my father was quite difficult situation at that time. In terms of communication it wasn't done in a sensible manner. Whenever it was done nothing better would come out of it. The main decision was that my father did not want to come down to meet her parents. In fact I actually met my wife on the internet. It was actually an Islamic website. So we had different opinions in that. The other thing was that my father wanted me to marry within the family but we had different views. So later I left. Islam does allow you to marry your cousins but it's better to marry outside the family for stronger genes, for stronger off springs."*

SG 2

According to Imran, trans-national marriage is a problem and that leads to separation between the husband and wife later on. He thinks,

*"People have got separated. The problem is in both scenarios. It's the cultural barriers. The husband and wife are both in different directions. When they get married they should be aiming for the same objectives, (there is a) lack of a social relationship. The people who come here they are worried about their families back home. Sometimes you forget about the main roles like taking care of their own households and they end up separating. The parents have seen this but they don't learn from mistakes"*

SG 13

Also the notion that you marry someone you have never met before and in some cases not seen or spoken to before is something that the young generation has difficulties in accepting. Arbaz, who left home as he went against his father's wishes had clear thoughts. He recalled,

*"The other thing was how do you marry someone that you know very little of. I mean because later on I realised that when two people are willing to get married they are allowed that kind of space to talk to one another. It's not like the strict boy is one side and the girl on the other they marry plainly. This was a bit later on. This was like a main concern for me to marry someone, the person that is my wife who she is now, how do I know whether she was the right person for me or not"*

SG 2

#### 5.3.1.9 Izzat and Baradari

*Izzat* means respect, status, honour or prestige and *Baradari* means community or Kinship group. An individual's standing in the community is an important feature of the Pakistani lifestyle. This has an influence on the way Asians lead their life, both in Pakistan and in the UK and conduct their everyday affairs with the aim of maintaining or raising their status or prestige within their community. A higher status may mean more respect from community members for both; an individual or a family. Izzat may also relate to honour or dignity of an individual or a family among other community members. This has implications over how this plays a role in their everyday decision making. There is a normative way of doing things which is acceptable to everyone. Any deviations from this normative way of life can have implications on the family and may mean the family losing face or 'Izzat'. This trait is manifested in the phrase common among elder members of the community that '*log ki kahoge?*' meaning 'what will people say?' This is a cultural trait that the children recognise and realise that it may do more harm than good.

Yaseen said that there are a few things that he has not adopted from the Asian culture one of which is Izzat. Particularly in terms of marriage this plays an important role.

This is a source of constant conflict in his life as he said,

*"This is the biggest dislike...the regimented way of life...if someone in the community does a little something that's not the norm then he is fallen from grace and he loses his whole reputation and he doesn't get a rishta (Match for marriage)...I have seen that...log ki kahoge (what will people say)...Izzat...what does Izzat really mean...it's what people think of you...I don't care what people think of you...as long as you are happy...that's what I have taken into my lifestyle...I have dropped the whole Izzat thing...I think my mum lives and dies for Izzat...she was really upset with me when I was saying those anti religion things...I realised that I was wrong to say it...because that's all what my mum knows...I realised and I learnt very very quickly...that I was being immature and stupid...and I completely cut it out...but this Izzat thing...I hate Izzat thing...I hate it...and when I asked my mum about marrying a girl from a different race...she was like log ki kahoge...this and that...and meri bahu ne roti bhi ni aundi pakauni (my daughter in law cannot even cook chapattis) and stuff like that and I am like...Mom there are bigger things in life than that...so yes the Izzat thing I have dropped that"*

SG 8

This was particularly in motion after an incident in his family as her sister wanted to marry of her own choice and move out. His parents were not happy about it and thought that she has let the family's Izzat down in the Baradari, as Yaseen recollected,

*"My sister has actually moved out...my sister...she liked a boy and she kind of had a fight with my parents over it and she moved out...it's been a big stress for my parents the kind of whole Izzat thing...they had a big fight...my parents were stressed out...I was really annoyed with her...but she moved out...and that was a big Izzat kind of stress thing for them...because all they said was what if people found out...people don't know about it...but may be they know...people talk about it...i don't think it is that big a deal...I mean she just wanted to move out and do her own thing...don't think it's that big a deal...but obviously in the Asian culture its exaggerated and it's made into this big huge crime...Oh what's she done...what's she done... all what she has done is she has moved out and found a job...it's not that criminal is it? ...really...again it's the whole liberal kind of views and the judgemental aspect of it...how people are going to judge her without giving her a chance and my parents have as well...it's just part and parcel of life really...until that kind of aspect dies out..."*

SG 8

The children realise that religion is important, however, it is the culture that they think dominates over religious practices and particularly in the case of marriages Izzat holds sway. Imran recalls that his father fixed his marriage to raise his own status in the community. He said,

*"Culture is more dominating than religion...Because my father married twice he was frowned upon and he lost his status in the society...so he found a good family for me to get married into and so his status has gone back up again"*

SG 13

The young generation has started to understand that their true religion is different from the cultural practices that they have been experiencing in their families, as Nafeesa reflected,

*"we are very cultural Muslims...and we had been for quite some time...and its only when I started going to university...that I think I was being with practising Muslims...and so it was at university that I started looking into Islam properly"*

SG 11

To an extent the children have felt some sort of hatred towards the Asian culture mainly due to the perceived negative aspects such as forced marriages and the dominance of practices that bring more status and prestige to the families, particularly without much regard to their children's wishes. Arbaz has developed hatred towards the Asian culture and preferred an Islamic over Pakistani culture. He said,

*"As regards to the culture...like the Asian culture I don't like it...simply because there are a lot of things clashing with Islam itself...therefore my culture has been originating from the Islamic point of view...like I said living in Britain...is just like a normal world...everyone is working, everyone spending time with family, doing sports"*

SG 2

The Izzat/ Baradari and Status/ Prestige factors are significant not only in social practices such as marriages but also have an influence on the way parents put pressure on children through expectations regarding choosing their careers. This aspect of this trait will be discussed in the 'Career Orientation' section of this chapter later.



#### 5.3.1.10 Living in two Cultures

This has been an aspect in the life of young generations who are born and brought up in a mixed culture. They are living in an Asian culture mainly at home and when dealing with their own community members, however, as opposed to their parents' situations the young generation's interaction with the wider British community is significantly higher. This may be due to the fact that they have attended schools, colleges and universities here and therefore they are more conversant in English as compared to Asian languages. They know a lot more than their parents about the British culture like values and social systems. They have interacted with more white British people and at a closer level than their parents ever did.

#### 5.3.1.11 Restrictions on intermixing with other children

However, some parents have discouraged intermixing of their children with others. For example, Nafeesa's parents did not allow her to have any friends from her neighbourhood and her parent's way of doing this was to impose a strict everyday schedule.

She remembered,

*"I was not allowed to have friends outside school...I think that...my parents were very protective...I did not really...I don't remember mixing with anybody outside school...you just don't really have time for it because ...what you end up doing is you go to school and you come home and you go to Masjid...learn the Quran...you don't actually learn the Quran...you just rattle off like a parrot and then you come home again so the people that you see outside school are the people you go to Masjid with...and those were Asians"*

SG 11

Amir related this differentiation to the different race that he belongs to and observed that the other kids (whites) were able to do what they wanted but he was always constrained by the restrictions posed by his parents. He said,

*"There were bits not strange but I knew deep down that I was Asian. But it was kind of strange as when I saw other kids (whites) they would do whatever they really want and their parents would not say anything, they would have girlfriends and hang around with girls and they seemed to be fine. And my parents would be like, "you should not hang around with girls, you should not have girlfriends and this and that" and it was kind of weird, it was like a barrier, it was like forbidden territory. Even like staying around with your mates overnight, we could not do that or bringing friends round to the house."*

SG 5

Yaseen thought his parents were paranoid about him socialising at places or occasions where he would meet with non-Asian children.

*"Socialising is hard...whenever you want to go out and do things with friends like New year's parties...I know that my parents will freak out...they are just like...oh my God you cannot go out...I have never been to a new year party...my parents will be like you are going out with crack heads and take heroine or some sort of insane thought...so that's very difficult... socialising"*

SG 8

Amir, in particular, started feeling embarrassed and would not actually tell his friends what his parents said or why they said that. He recalled,

*"I never used to tell them because I felt so embarrassed. I kept a low key kind of not talk about it. One of the white friends would tell me that you should go out with your friends and you should come out and not be tied to your home. But I could never think of doing that."*

SG 5

However, where the parents did not stop children from making friends from the white community, they developed good relationships. As Wasim described,

*"most of my friends are white...to this date...I am still very close to my friends from School and they know my dos and my don'ts and they respect that...my 'goray' friends have got a fantastic relationship with my family"*

SG 12

And although some have wanted to make friends outside of their ethnic group, it has caused conflict with their own culture and with their parents. As Yaseen recollects,

*"I was different culturally...my best friend is Asian but I had no problems in socialising with other races as well...but obviously it's easier with Asian because*

*you share things...you know the values of family and stuff...but then you also got the western influence and which is where the clash is...there is a big clash in my life between family and friends whereas family they see friends as bad...and they feel that anyone becomes bad because of friends because they take you to do wrong...but I also want to be with my friends and that's a big clash in my life"*

SG8

Sometimes though the children have rebelled and made friends or did things that the parents never knew about. Nafeesa, whose parents did not allow her to make friends in the neighbourhood, she would do it clandestinely anyway. She said,

*"a lot of times my parents would be at shops...so I would have a lot of time to have friends ...but my parents said no to that kind of thing...that came in secondary school...but I don't remember having something like ...I mean I did have friends in the neighbourhood and they were not Muslims...They (parents) did not really know about them...(had they known) I don't think they would have been too...pleased...but then surviving in this country you need friends"*

SG 11

#### 5.3.1.12 Best of Both Worlds

Despite their parents efforts of restricting children from making friends outside of the Asian ethnicity and controlling the spaces in which the children wanted to socialise, many had taken in their lifestyles the values that they thought were best for them. This meant that they were absorbing values and practices from both the cultures. In fact the youngsters found this as a positive thing as they were able to choose the best of both worlds and discard that which they did not like. Wasim, reflects that living in the UK has allowed him to pick and choose from both the cultures. He says,

*"The Asian culture is...having the respect for elders...having the respect for people around you and having a good community around you a nice tight community...I like that I love that...when everyone is together...it's just so nice...with my Asian friends everything is about food...But with my 'goray' friends it's about drinking...in little groups going to pubs and what not...And I like the food thing...obviously I don't like the pub thing but I like the food thing...we have got both sides of two different cultures...from which we can pick and choose from...the best we can do is find a happy balance between both of them...you are always going to be looking for a balance for ever..."*

SG 12

Yaseen has a similar thinking about the Asian and British culture. He is able to differentiate between the two and assimilates in his lifestyle aspects from both the cultures. He reflected,

*"The Asian values are more like family based...more work oriented...all work work work work, but they are looking for more fun, relaxation or just chasing like just like enjoyment and stuff. Whereas western values are a lot more hedonistic, Asian values are not so much about fun, lot more about family. So what I have personally done is that I have incorporated both of them in my lifestyle. I know how important are your parents and looking after your family and stuff and also how important the work is and so I have managed to balance between fun and work"*

SG 8

Nafeesa feels that her culture is different from people who come from Pakistan and she feels that she has picked aspects of British culture that she perceives people from Pakistan lack such as etiquettes and manners.

She reflected,

*"Like just general etiquettes. For example, my etiquettes are very western like not staring at people, simple things like that. I noticed that when people come from Pakistan they just sort of litter and I just put it in the bin and there are things like I think it's the age thing as well. I am more of a... I like to meet people, see people whereas my parents are like 'sit in the house' kind"*

SG 11

Growing up in a mixed culture might have widened the scope for learning about other cultures and faiths, as Sonia suggested,

*"Being brought up in a mixed culture is quite a positive thing as you are learning a lot more. If I only had English friends then I would not have learnt about my religion and culture at all. And also not just I have learnt about my religion but also about different religions and cultures as well. I have studied different religions at school so that would have pushed me to learn more"*

SG 3

#### 5.3.1.13 Race and Racism

Despite their friendships and well-intended deliberations about mixed cultures, they have not been able to be oblivious to the fact that they are of a

different ethnicity and race as compared to the wider British society which is of a predominantly white ethnicity. This has at times placed them at a receiving end of racially motivated behaviour. Children from as young as primary schools have experienced racist behaviour, as Amir remembered,

*"I remember getting bullied in a racial way. It wasn't as bad as it sounds but it was quite bad. I did not take it personally...They just found as a weakness and say things like go back to your country' or 'you don't belong here'. They must be getting it from their parents"*

SG 5

This kind of behaviour was confusing for Sonia, particularly because she thought she was born here and therefore she was British.

She related a particular incident thus,

*"When we were in school, we would get called names like 'Paki' and I never understood why I was being called that because I was born here and I was raised up here and my parents came from Pakistan and I never understood why they called me Paki"*

SG 3

Some experienced that religious discrimination was mixed with racial discrimination, as Rukhsar said,

*"I have had experiences like they pulled your hijab or spat at you...it's never explained but stuff like that has happened...they always want to do it secretly or anonymously and they want to do it in a group"*

SG 4

The effect of racist behaviour on children has been varied. Some have felt hurt and isolated whereas others haven't let it bother them. Amir felt both hurt and isolated as a result of racist bullying at school. He described his experience thus,

*"I would feel very angry. I kind of felt like isolated...There would be a separation sometimes but as long as sometimes not all the time and it was usually when people from the older years that would bully and if you don't turn around and argue they would use it as a weakness. But it wasn't always directly...I had loads of fights when I was in primary school"*

SG 5

They did realise that the behaviour was directed to their colour of skin as colour was a clear differentiating factor between people of Asian and British ethnicities. Imran felt a feeling of isolation and thought that it affected his confidence. He said,

*"Sometimes I used to feel isolated from all the groups and I did not realise like...you look different from other people other children and then you felt isolated and you try to always question like there is something wrong with yourself...it brings your confidence down you know"*

SG 13

Arbaz also felt that it was always because of the colour of his skin rather than anything else. He recalled,

*"Before my teens everything was on the racial kind of incident...nothing to do with religion; who I am and the colour of my skin"*

SG 2

However, Wasim though realised that it was because of the colour of the skin, he never let it bother him. He said,

*"I remember later on in primary school...I have been given racist jokes...but I can't say that that sort of thing...I never let it bother me...never reacted...never hit anyone. When there is a confrontation...the easiest thing that come to their mind is the colour of your skin and that's what they get...it just doesn't bother me...I say to people...if that's the best you have got...you have got nothing...it does not affect me at all"*

SG 12

Although young Asians were getting racially abused either due to their parents' country of origin and the colour of their skin, they were also making friends with those who were standing by them, as Sonia vividly recalled,

*"I still had friends because my friends really stuck with me and that's what I really liked about them they really stuck with me and they would say to them that she is just one of us. But as I grew up and as I went to high school I got more and more Asian friends"*

SG 3

#### 5.3.1.14 Identity

As a result of all the above factors, the young generation has formed an identity which is an amalgamation of the two cultures that they have experienced and their religion. This is mainly because of their unique position of being born in Asian Muslim families settled in the UK and being brought up and socialised in a mixed environment. This environment is largely influenced by the tri-layered and a complex mesh of the British cultural system, the Asian cultural system and their religion.

When questioned about their identity they all had a clear answer. Sonia recognises that she cannot change what she has inherited from her parents and that is part of her identity.

She mentioned,

*“Although I am born here and raised in a mixed culture my parents come from Pakistan and their religion and culture still makes us a Pakistani. When I used to get racist abuse at school I used to think I am a Pakistani I cannot change that. All my friends who are Asians or Sikhs etc know that this is part of our identity and I consider myself as a Pakistani British”*

SG 3

This was not uncommon among people born and raised in the UK. This is different from the older generation who despite being officially British as well as Pakistani nationals, consider themselves as Pakistani, as Nafeesa relates,

*“I consider myself Scottish...I am Sco'ish (with a Scottish accent)...Some people describe themselves as Pakistani British...I am Scottish First and then Pakistani...My dad describes himself as Pakistani...although he never lived in Pakistan...he is very patriotic about it”*

SG 11

For Arbaz there is an additional dimension of religion that he sees as part of his identity as well. He described his identity as thus,

*"We have got probably three kinds of areas. One of them obviously myself and the living in Britain, then we have obviously like myself like my own culture from Pakistani background and then being a Muslim"*

SG 2

Imran, also, although recognising that he is a British Pakistani he feels a religious identity is personally more significant to him. He said,

*"I want to call myself British Asian, British Pakistani but I don't know. It doesn't really bother me too much about identity now that I have been studying about religion and nationalism. It is not significant. It's good to have an identity but I don't find it's an important part of my life. But I think being a Muslim is more important to me than it is being a Pakistani or a British Pakistani. Even though it's my roots I won't forget that. If I have to choose that I would say that I am a British Pakistani. I have been through situations that have put me off Pakistan and there have been a few situations that have put me off UK as well"*

SG 13

However, Imran mentioned that being of a bi-cultural identity he has problems fitting in both societies with regards to being accepted. He felt there is something called as an identity crisis.

He related,

*"This is a big subject a lot of people talk about, the identity crisis because you don't get accepted in both places. Obviously everyone know who you are...and where you are from...so obviously you are recognised as someone from outside...and second our characteristics are different...their characteristics were different than most of the people...in reaction to issues...the way we used to speak to our people...and obviously...we could not speak proper Urdu or Punjabi"*

SG 13

#### 5.3.1.15 Integration

Different people have had different experiences regarding racism, inter mixing with people from a different ethnicity than their own, or a bi-cultural or even a tri-layered identity; there are many barriers to integration between communities. As a result of this, the youngsters have slowly found themselves interacting and hanging out with friends of their similar backgrounds i.e. Asians born and raised in Britain. Their similar culture helped them to understand each other better. As Sonia clearly identified,



*"I did identify with our race and we would meet up after school to learn Quran and religion so one friend would lead to another friend and yes I had more Asian friends. My English friends were still around at that time but I think because as Asians we were from the same culture and religion and so we were more similar and we would have more discussion which was similar stuff"*

SG 3

This is not too different from what the parents thought, for them language was a barrier though, as Malik described, they never had other factors that had priority over social integration. He described,

*"We did not interact with the local population here...it was to some extent a lack of language or that it was not necessary for us to interact with them...more importantly we never thought anything beyond money...even if someone was working they would spend more time at work"*

FG 3

Although language is not a barrier for the young generation, Rukhsar thinks that it may take too long for people to approach an Asian and she feels her appearance may be a barrier in her being approached by other people. She said,

*"It takes a long time...I mean they are afraid...they don't know who u are...they are afraid...you are walking with a scarf on your head... and you are brown skinned they don't know who you are and you look funny"*

SG 4

Amir thought that it was natural to get along better with people of the same 'kind' as there are more similarities than differences. He recollected,

*"because we got a long better, we spoke the same language, I mean we speak English but we used to speak Punjabi, Urdu mix, we eat the same curries and have the same interest, I think this comes naturally, although most of the people in my class were Asians and there were white too...We used to get along well and understand each other better...Pakistanis, Indians, and Bengalis they all get along"*

SG 5

Not having shared interests with other groups of people may also be a barrier to integration. However, Nafeesa thinks that it may be more difficult for men to integrate as compared to females. She thinks,

*"I find if you are Muslim in this country you can't escape the fact that you don't really have a shared interest with people who are not Muslim...it is not so bad for me like I can go for a coffee with friends but for my brother he thinks it is difficult to socialise with people who are not Muslims because what do they want to do is that they just want to go for a beer in the pub. There are different types of issues with girls and I think it is slightly easier for the girls I think, whereas he finds it very difficult to socialise and because of that you are more inclined to socialise with your kind. The older you get you are more naturally inclined to socialise with people who have more in common with you"*

SG 11

Religion then could possibly be the main barrier to integrate and for those that display their religious symbols overtly and also due to other religious practices. Rukhsar related her experiences, she said,

*"I guess you are always grouped into...that you are separate...I am the only hijabi on the bus...yeah I guess people see me as different ...sometimes I hear it...sometimes your mind is clicking it up as sometimes people don't approach you and they don't talk to you and people make judgements of you and you just get used to it and you try to...one person keeps on saying oh I thought you were like this ...you realise that people thinking of you like that and they break barriers and once you meet them...you go hi and you have to start talking to them first... and then by the way I don't drink alcohol and I don't do this and its harder...you are much less approachable"*

SG 4

#### 5.3.1.16 Family Business

While factors like culture, religion, race and ethnicity might affect the Asian youth in general regardless of their family's occupations i.e. business or professions, children from Family business backgrounds might have some unique factors that shape their process of socialisation.

As mentioned above, the first generation started their enterprises and for most of them hard work, long hours and employing family labour was a source of competitive advantage. Perhaps this caused particular problems as far as children were concerned. Though they appreciated their parents working hard for the family, they did rue the lack of time that they had from their fathers.

### 5.3.1.17 Long working hours

This category was discussed briefly at the beginning of this chapter within the first generation section. As highlighted in previous sections, Asian family businesses' *modus operandi* was to open long hours typically from early morning till late night. Keeping the shops open past midnight was also very common. This was important as the shops would mostly do business when other bigger stores like the supermarkets would be closed for example in the evenings or weekends or on Wednesday and Saturday afternoon when some stores closed after 2pm. This, they thought would give the businesses a competitive advantage or merely a survival space alongside other retail businesses. The section below discusses how the children viewed this and what they perceived to be the impact on their lives of long working hours and hard physical labour within the family run businesses.

Yasir from the first generation clearly describes his long hours when they opened their shops in Edinburgh, he says,

*"we were working 9 to 6 but there was more work involved here and sometimes we would be here till like 10 pm. The shop will close at 6pm but we will still be here like 10 o'clock or 12 o'clock. But that was OK as it was giving us the money"*

FG 2

Amir, from the second generation, remembered the working hours that his father was putting in the shop. He said,

*"My father would get up early and...(what were his normal working hours?)...he would normally wake up at 5 or 6 o'clock and then he would go somewhere to get the fruit and he used to bring it back and then go to the shop so it was hard work in the morning and in the cold though winter as well and he would be in the shop until sometimes like half seven and whenever he had a different shop he would be there at different times, sometimes even ten."*

SG 5

Imran from the second generation too had experienced his father working long hours. He said,

*“my dad was obviously busy working...he was working very long hours...he used to leave at 6 in the morning and then come back later 8 or 9 o clock or 10...7 days...Sundays as well”*

SG 13

#### 5.3.1.18 No time for children

One of the implications of opening the shops for too long was that the parents were not able to spend as much time as would have liked to with their children. This was something that the parents realised that they were not able to give time to their children because of their nature of work.

Malik, from the first generation realised this when describing his work schedule. He reflected,

*“we never gave time to the children...it has affected the children...when we left home to the shop in the morning they were asleep and when we get back home they were in bed because they had to go to school in the morning”*

FG 3

The parents also reflected back on this as something that has pushed the children more towards the British culture as compared to the Asian culture. Shahid, from the first generation realised this when he said,

*“Parents never had the time for their children...even those who did give time only some children are good...most children are out of control...most of the time children spend in school where they learn the British culture...on the TV as well they see the same culture”*

FG 1

The children too observed the lack of time that the parents had for them and that this had an effect on the relationship that the children were developing with their father. Maryam, when compared the time she had from her father to the time some other girls in her school were having from their fathers, felt that she could not have a bond with her father that she would have liked.

She reflected,

*“my dad had a paper shop and he would sometimes leave home sometimes at 5 in the morning and do long hours and as a result I would not be able to spend much time with my dad. Whereas some of my friends’ dads would do a proper 9 to 5 jobs and they would bond with their parents more and that would make me think why is my dad always out working”*

SG 3

Another second generation respondent, Arbaz, whose father and two uncles run a pharmacy, an internet café, a cheap goods store and a photo studio, all under a single roof recalled the time when he, his brothers and sisters were growing up, his father owned a pharmacy that involved hard physical work and long unsocial hours. Sometimes they would not even see their dad and this had negative memories for him. He said:

*“My dad would put in really long hours. Because it was his business he adapted to these long hours. Between brothers and sisters (we got) less time from dad. In terms of socialising with the family it wasn’t as much...a lot less. Because my father was quite close to my granddad...so he would spend a lot of time with him. Grand dad was living with my uncle. After finishing work he(my dad) would have dinner at my grandfather’s. It was because of bed time, my mum would make food for us and there would be my granny as well so I would say my dad would come quite late. So you can imagine working 9-10 hours and then going 1-2 hours to granddad... that had quite a lot of impact on us even till today”*

SG

#### 5.3.1.19 Lack of Bonding

The children realised that their parents were putting in the long hours for the sake of the family livelihood as Amir described. He said,

*“I knew that my dad was working hard and that did not bother me much...their (other Asian friends’) dads would be the same as they will be always working hard and long hours and long shifts...but that didn’t actually bother me like...I knew that my dad was working hard and that he was doing for a cause”*

SG 5

Wasim too had a similar realisation where he knew why his father was spending so long in the business, he described his feeling when he compared the time he got from his father to that of his friends.

He said,

*"My dad...when I was growing up wasn't there...I remember one time saying to him...I remember as soon as I said that I felt stupid....I remember I was saying to my dad...you know my mates' dads take them for golf and stuff...I remember saying this to my dad...I was about 14-15 years old...as soon as I said that...I knew it was a stupid thing to say and the reason it was a stupid thing to say was because it's not because he does not want to but it was because he has got a lot of responsibility...he has got to do what he has got to do...and I am quite content with it...I was comparing myself with my friends"*

SG 12

Yaseen thinks that the long working hours are justified against the benefits that the family were gaining. He puts his father's position and activity as important saying:

*'He is like the bread winner. He goes out in the morning and comes back at night... I don't really want to (talk to him about it) as he is working so hard and he is doing it for us...'*

SG

In spite of this realisation, the children also felt the emotional impact this might have had on the children. The number of hours that the parents, particularly fathers, spent working in the business was probably having an emotional bearing on the children as well. Maryam further relates her experiences of her father not being able to spend time with her as,

*"That was really hard for me because every girl had their fathers spending more time with them and I would see my father only for a couple of hours at night and then at the same time I would be thinking that he is working and getting more money into the house but if I look back I would wish that my dad worked less hours so that I could bond with my dad more as I still feel that I haven't got enough bonding with my dad and I saw that my dad was spending so much time in the business"*

SG 3

She further added that it was due to the lack of time together was causing her to feel the lack of emotional bond with her father. She lamented the lack of time in the following words,

*"My dad was never in the house. And whenever he was he would always hurry to get to the shop and we would never have the chance to talk to dad and have a family day or something. Other kids would go with their parents but we never did that and even today there is not much bonding with my dad. Even if we visit Pakistan my Dad has never accompanied us except once that was last year and my dad never goes because of the business and so it is just my mum and the kids who go along"*

SG 3

Amir reflected how he wished for a perfect family life the one that he saw in the movies. He said,

*"I have seen it in films like how they were a perfect family...and it did cross my mind that I did not bond with my dad as much as are these people...it did cross my mind sometimes"*

SG 5

Yaseen reflected as a lack of a strong bond with his father as a side effect of working long hours as he reflected,

*"Me and my father hadn't really been close. With him always working I have never really had a chance to bond or socialise with my dad. I know my dad I know what he is really about but I never had that connection with my dad. I have always been a little bit distant. He is like the bread winner. He goes out in the morning and comes back at night. I am kind of like a Mama's boy. I have always been with my mum. My mum is also quite bitter about that as well. She is always like why did he work so hard...I have never really known my dad that well...and that is the side effect of like working so much...and so I have never really known him and I was always so close to my mum...she was always home and she was the one who did my parenting and upbringing"*

SG 8

For Imran, the lack of bonding had an effect on the closeness with his father which impacted his communication with his father. He said,

*"The relationship is not very strong or communicative...it's just like normal...whatever we have to do...any issues that we have to sort...if I have to speak to him it will probably be 2-3 sentences...just if there are any issues...obviously I do whatever he tells me to do"*

SG 13

This particular category of lack of time and effect of the impact of long hours has on the children has further significance in relation to the career decision making of the children and will be further discussed in the next major section of Career Orientation.

#### 5.3.1.20 Tired and Fed up of businesses

Not only did the long hours had impacted on the lack of time that the children had felt from their parents, but also the long and hard physical work was having an impact as well. Nafeesa whose family has now sold the shop described her family's time before and after the shop closure. She said,

*"we never go for a family outing...Sunday because the shop closed a little bit early we could go and do something but then everybody is too tired then...like when there is a wedding in the family we never go as a family to the wedding ...there was only half of us that went and there would be an issue of who would go...but there was a wedding that happened after we sold our shop...it was just so nice because all of us were able to go"*

SG 12

When I asked about the aspect that they did not miss on the shop she said,

*"me and my sister weren't the one that were missing it...my brother and my sister in law have spent so much time there...that suddenly they are like...oh no cash and carry...no shop to open...no keys in the pocket...I think for them it was a sad moment ...but to go back now...I think we have no people to go back now...because it was a lot of hard work...when you do it...yeah u do it...but now that we have left it to go back to it I think would be very hard"*

SG 12

Imran, who has joined his father in running the shop after his university education has experienced the long hours and the hard work personally, for him it is a matter of stress and no time for personal life. He recalled one of his previous experiences. He said,

*"it destroys your life... when I was 14 years old...even when we were younger...I used to do body building and I had a perfect routine after school...to*



*do the body building and I lost some body fat as well...it was very good...for three months I was enjoying that...but my aunty she needed help with one of her shop and they sent me to work in the shop because they needed help"*

SG 13

Community acceptance is important. Human being is a social animal. How they perceive you as part of the society. All actions are affected by this perception.

Social standing dictates how much a person has influence over family or even community matters. People look up to this person and that attracts more respect. Other people aspire to reach that status. Asian society is a patriarchal society.

### 5.3.2 Career Orientation

Career Orientation is not so much about the process of deciding which careers the children ultimately chose, but about how their attitudes, beliefs and aspirations developed with regards to their career. This section particularly presents and discusses findings about the factors that might have an effect on the Career Orientation of young British Pakistanis of Family Business backgrounds.

The previous section looked at identifying the factors that influenced the process of socialisation among young generation. Some of the factors identified were Religion, Culture, Parents' tendencies to preserve their native cultures, expectations from children to follow their parents' native culture and religion, race related factors and the shaping of their ethnic identity based on these factors. Also other factors such as the impact of long working hours and hard work in the family businesses led to a lack of quality time spent between parents, particularly between father, and children were discussed. This perhaps had an impact on the perceived lack of emotional bonding. How this might have an impact on the children's career as well as some other factors will be discussed in the following section. Subsequently the final major category of Succession will be discussed in the light of the interview responses of the participants from all three categories.

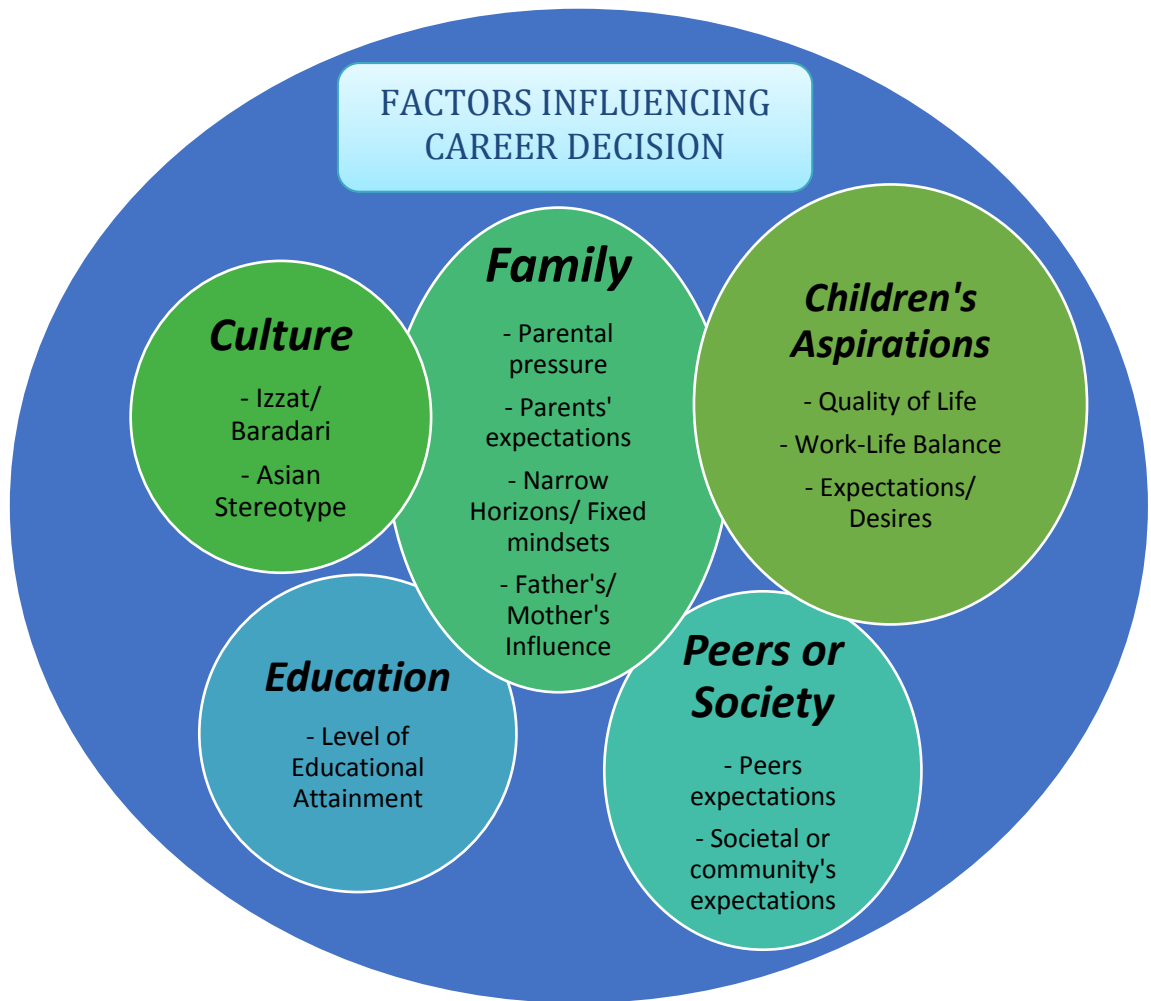


Figure 5.3: Factors Influencing Career Decision; Source: Author

#### 5.3.2.1 Parental Pressure

Parents can have a significant impact on the career decision making of a youngster. This factor can be manifested itself in many different ways either directly in a way that parents influence the decision making through making their wishes known explicitly or it could be indirect through subtly making children aware of expectations. Dr Anwar Waleed, who is a retired school teacher in Glasgow and participated in this research as a Key Informant has had various interactions with parents as well as children. He observed that there are a number of direct or indirect pressures that the parents put on their children and that it is

particularly done without understanding or assessment of the child's ability. He said,

*"children to a great extent are put under a lot of pressure by parents...it may not be overt and they are not sitting them down and saying so much but the drip effect, the slow mentioning of things and they keep telling that we want you to be a doctor and mentioning it here there and everywhere. The pressure is there on them. The children also then realise that they also have to live up to it. Some who have got within themselves they will go forward for that and to please their mothers and fathers and to see that they are excelling. Others, well, they don't have the ability. They can hardly pass their standard grades and so on, yet the parents may think that they want to make an academic out of this person"*

KI 1

Parvez also had similar views in which he said that it is the pressure from parents on the children regardless of their ability that makes children to select certain subjects in school. He said,

*"parents are not aware what the children want to be...the children are too young to know...they have a lot of push from childhood...u want to be an engineer...doctor...psychiatrist...so they have a pressure...so they go to the biology..."*

KI 4

Yaseen from the second generation felt that the pressure on him from his parents was due to the expectations that were placed on him since his childhood which he thought was annoying. He reflected,

*"My parents brought me up to go for success. As a young child I was told you are special, clever, you will make it to the top. I was never told...you are stupid...I was never told I cannot do it. I was always told you are talented, you are intelligent, you will succeed and that is something that is important in life for a child that you tell him he is gonna do well. In my mind I just accepted that I was clever and I was capable and I never really had to work hard. And it became from pressure to aspiration as well. So I never really thought about pressure aspect but it was annoying and I knew it was never gonna go away. Wherever I go it was going to follow me..."*

SG 8

Nafeesa, who is now a practicing lawyer, said she was academically better than her siblings. Though aware of her parents' wishes she never felt any pressure. She said,

*"They never really put any pressure on me...I think they were relieved when I chose that subjects...I think that was a source of relief to them...but they were never like you must do that...I think my bro felt more pressure than me...to do engineering...I think he regrets what he did and he would have chosen something different..."*

SG 11

#### 5.3.2.2 Parents wish fulfilled through children

As has been mentioned in previous sections, parents came from poor backgrounds and were in survival mode while they were in UK, particularly in their initial years after migration. Most were uneducated and could never attend school or higher education. Within the Asian community education and educated people are perceived to be given a higher status. Perhaps it was the parents' desire for the children to attain higher status and respect in the community and society that led them to push their children towards education and not family businesses. Dr. Waleed, clearly observed that parents could not avail of the opportunities to educate themselves and that was something that the parents did not want their children to miss out on. He related,

*"to a great extent a lot of our parents live out their lives through their children...what they could not do themselves they want to realise those ambitions through their children...a lot of our parents generations were held back either because of finance or that the school was too far away or the university was too far away...they could not realise their potential...they are not even metrics...but they have got good analytic skills...and given the right environment...given the opportunities they would have got themselves good careers but they did not get those opportunities...so they do not want their children to be in the same category...they want their children to excel and realise those opportunities"*

KI 1

Education for children was perhaps intended to be a way to escape the life full of struggle and self-sacrifice that the first generation had lived, as Khalil described,

*"I think that they, basically parents say that they never had that chance of education and therefore they did not have as good a life had they had an education. So they wanted me to have an education, get a good degree, get a good job not had to struggle. I don't know if that works out that way. They didn't*

*want me to go into the garage or the shops. They just wanted me to get my degree"*

SG 7

Parent's poor backgrounds played an important role. After arriving in the UK from poorer backgrounds and not having the opportunity to attain a high status and respect for themselves through education, it was a sense of achievement for the parents, as Nafeesa reflected. She said,

*"Probably when you come to this country with nothing and all of a sudden your kids become doctor its like you have achieved something...and parents live their lives through kids...what they could not achieve their kids have achieved and because they are constantly worrying about their rents...they are working hard...my dad could have afforded to study...he was concentrating so hard to earn a living where as we had the comfort of study because of the hard work that my parents have done...we were able to afford to study..."*

SG 11

#### 5.3.2.3 Level of Educational attainment

Succession might depend on the level and quality of education and grades that the child achieved. As indicated above, the parents thought that they had made sacrifices by working hard and long hours, thereby missing out on other aspects of life like spending time with family. As a result of this struggled existence they give the impression that they wanted the children to breakout into diverse career and education might have been the way to achieve that. Saeem Walid, a race, equality and enterprise coordinator with a local council in Scotland has wide ranging interactions with the BME community in the council region. He observed that,

*"The parents kind of push them into academic careers, if they made their grades then majority would go into professional careers...yeah...but some children don't have the talent or inclination to study they would join the family businesses"*

KI 2

As Saeem Walid has previously mentioned that starting a business was a means to escape the poverty trap for the older generation, it also appears that from the young generations' stand point, educational attainment was a vehicle to escape the shop-keeping trap that they might have perceived as blocking their upward mobility, as Maryam related her experience. She said,

*"When I was at high school I thought I definitely needed to go to university because I never wanted to sit at shops because I wanted to have a proper profession and I really wanted it so it really pushed me to go on and study and go to university. In my 4<sup>th</sup> year I got very good marks and I realised that I do have the ability and then I realised that I must go on to do my Highers and then I went on to do my Highers and then I passed my Highers and then I went to University"*

SG 3

Attending university, some thought would not only give them more opportunities to choose from, but might also reduce risk and provide for a stable future, as Amir described. He said,

*"We thought that going to university and getting a degree would be a safer option and would be more stable for the future and all round it will be better to go to university and get a degree and get a job"*

SG 5

#### 5.3.2.4 Narrow Horizons

However, although the parents were reluctant for the children to join the family business, their own limited education and preferences shaped by their social conditions meant they only had knowledge of certain fixed career pathways. As Yasir, a first generation respondent mentioned.

*"There are only 4 or 5 degrees like accountants, lawyers, medicine. There are only 4-5 degrees in which you get a job at the end of your degrees"*

FG 2

This was also narrated by Amir, a second generation respondent whose choice of science subjects at school was based on his father's insistence and his fixed mind-set. He said,

*"When I was probably about ...more around the time when I was at high school...that was like...dad just told me to pick sciences ...there was not much option as he always wanted me to pick the sciences and it was the best thing at the moment...if you wanted to do medicine or biological chemistry and he wanted me to do sciences when I was at high school and he did not want me to do music or RA or drama or like and he said that it was in a way stupid...you know like you will not get a job in music or so..."*

SG 5

Being able to find a job at the end of a qualification might have driven a number of first generation Family Business Owners.

As a Key Informant, Dr. Waleed described,

*“Unfortunately a lot of parents look at it as a job...that what job will you get at the end...what will you do with a degree in Philosophy or Politics...but this is just a first generational way of thinking about it”*

KI 1

*“It is important to have a community which is very broadly based and with all kinds of skills. I would very much like our children to go into professions and spread the community out. We are the community leaders and we want to see our children both boys and girls going out into the professions going out into the world and going into jobs that we have not heard of. It is not good for our community to go into medicine become doctors and engineers. These are noble professions, no doubt about it but the strength of a community is measured by how broad it is. We should be seen in all professions”*

KI 1

A lack of guidance and support regarding career was a problem according to Ahsan, a second generation entrepreneur who reflected that mothers’ limited knowledge and fathers’ lack of time for children was also a reason for children not being able to decide about their careers.

*“Just may be they don’t have the support of their father when you needed some advice...at the end of the day the mothers in the house all day...your mum only knows so much...and your fathers are at the shop all day...and he only knows business and when it comes to education...may be you never had an older brother or a sister or an older cousin...you could have advice from them...and you are lost...”*

SG 9

#### 5.3.2.4.1 Fixed mind-sets about careers (Medicine, Accountancy etc.)

From the discussion above it occurs that the parents’ narrow horizons about certain careers were due to their own limited educational backgrounds. This was also related to an appreciation that children’s success in education signified an indication of having achieved success after establishing themselves in their host

country by undergoing a struggled existence based on hard work and enormous self-sacrifice. However, the inclination towards only certain types of careers preferably among those medicine, accountancy, engineering or law also needs to be understood.

Dr Anwar Waleed described his observation thus,

*“There is no doubt about that coming from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh the only professions which we met were doctors and engineers and these people earned quite well and they had good living. They had the prestige and they had everything. Their horizons only extend to that. They are not in our vocabulary. What is in our vocabulary is a doctor. And even people in the village have met a doctor or a nurse and it is also the altruistic thing that they should be able to serve the community. We want our children to become that. So in a way we are ambitious for them but the ambition is also limited by our own horizons, that we don’t know that there is a world out there...”*

KI 1

This might have resulted in parents not consulting or not even being aware of what the child wanted to do, as Mr. Parvez, a Key Informant and a community elder mentioned. He said,

*“parents are not aware what the children want to be. The children are too young to know and they have a lot of push from childhood. You want to be an engineer, doctor, and psychiatrist. So they have a pressure and so they go to the biology”*

KI 4

#### 5.3.2.5 Izzat/ Baradari or Status and Prestige

This particular aspect was discussed in detail in the section on Socialisation of young British Pakistanis above. In this section this aspect is being explored within the context of Career Orientation. An aspiration for a higher status or prestige (Izzat) within the Pakistani community (Baradari) both in UK and in their home country, it appears that this is the reason for a push towards these fixed career choices for children. As Maryam, related her experience, she said her mother wanted her to become a doctor as that will give her a higher status and prestige.



She said,

*"She (mother) wanted me to become a doctor. You know because among Asians like being a doctor is like a big thing, like higher status and prestige. And also back home if you are a doctor it is considered really good. So when I told her that I was going to study business she did not like it because she said that men do business, but at the end of the day she has seen that I was having more interest and in my science at school she knew that I was struggling. My little sister is more into it and she is at high school and she wants to be in medicine and wants to be a doctor. My mother is over the moon about it and she says that the little one is fulfilling my dreams and stuff."*

SG 3

One of the areas that the concepts of Izzat and Baradari might be applied is *Rishta* i.e. finding a match for marriage, as Amir related,

*"She (mother) wants me to go and get married and there is this thing in the Asian culture that when you are getting married they ask what the guys does, status and prestige and it has to be good. She used to say that no one will marry you if you grew up as a shopkeeper"*

SG 5

Nafeesa thought that the occupation of the child not only means a higher status or prestige but also gives the parents bragging rights aimed at improving their prestige in the community. In her opinion the young generation is moving away from this kind of behaviour. She relates her experience thus,

*"I think it's a, 'look what he is doing and look what she is doing'. It's like, 'my son is a doctor'. Izzat is important when you are in a gathering with people and you are able to say that you are able to stand there like someone who is doing well and you are somebody who has something to boast about. You know, even though we are sort of coming away from that though. Me and my brothers and sister we are not that like. I don't like talking about what I was doing. My dad liked to tell what I was doing but I don't care, but I suppose my dad was entitled to"*

SG 11

However, she also related the negative aspect of this characteristic of the First generation as it becomes a source of embarrassment sometimes and also puts a lot of pressure on the children. When asked what those parents would do in such gatherings whose children have not attained such educational levels, she said,

*"They lie, they sort of, they exaggerate or make things up. I have heard examples of people like just lying. What the kids end up doing is a little module. Somebody was telling about somebody that somebody was doing a course and they had a little module of law in it and then all of a sudden the mum was telling to everybody else that she is doing law. So if your kid is not doing well then they just take a thing and exaggerate and that puts a lot of pressure on the kids and then everybody realises in the community that that's not true and it certainly does more damage than good I think"*

SG 11

From the children's perspective sometimes it becomes too difficult to avoid the pressure, particularly if they realise their inability to take medicine as their career. This aspect was well demonstrated in the case of Khalil. He realised at the end of his school term that he did not have the ability or the grades to get into medicine at University. He took advantage of his parents' naivety and their lack of awareness about the education system and pretended that he is in fact doing medicine. When probed further about his choice of 'Medicinal Chemistry' at University, he narrated,

*"Right. OK. I will be truthful here. When I started university I chose medicinal chemistry. That has got a magic word in it 'medicinal' alright. So I chose medicinal chemistry. I didn't want to do doctory and I didn't have the brains to get into medicine so I did chemistry at school so I thought I probably go and do chemistry. There was something that said 'try and be a doctor, try and be a doctor' but I did not think personally that I could be a doctor. Basically the crux was that my higher grades for my exams were not up to a level that I could go and get medicine. So from there then I could go and do something else. So basically I was doing chemistry at school as my main subject in my sixth year so I could do chemistry and then I saw that there was this course for medicinal chemistry so I basically decided to do that. So I did my first year of medicinal chemistry. First year is like just general ok so I did the first year and I could not do the medicinal chemistry because there was a lot of pharmacology and I could not get a grasp of it so I decided to do bio-chemistry. My mum was not too happy when I got my grades and that I wouldn't gonna get into medicine. I, to tell you the truth, was relieved because had I got the right grades I probably would have had to just go into it. I think after a little while my mum got over that."*

SG 7

Imran whose father also wanted him to study medicine described how this expectation exerts pressure on the children, particularly if they are not capable, and he thinks, this might affect the children's self-confidence. He related,

*"From my point of view not everyone can become a doctor and then people, like the parents who impose on their children to become a doctor even when they can't become something they still get that imposed and pressure comes on and when that comes on pressure at a young age affects the long term. It's very, really really really bad. The pressure is in terms of achieving grades. When you know that there is a mountain to climb and you see how big the mountain is you don't start when you see how big the mountain is"*

SG 13

#### 5.3.2.6 Parental Influence

In addition to the factors described above there are some factors discovered that might also have an impact on the young generations' career orientation. Parents have played a significant role in the children's career decision making and broadly it appears that having a good education is seen as a vehicle for upward social mobility.

##### 5.3.2.6.1 Father's influence

Fathers had an important role to play, particularly in choosing what subjects to choose and like in Asia there is a preference for science based subjects as that had a higher chance of getting into careers such as medicine as Amir described from his time at high school. He said,

*"When I was probably about ...more around the time when I was at high school...that was like...dad just told me to pick sciences ...there was not much option as he always wanted me to pick the sciences and it was the best thing at the moment...if you wanted to do medicine or biological chemistry and he wanted me to do sciences when I was at high school"*

SG 5

##### 5.3.2.6.2 Mother's Influence

Perhaps, it seems that the mother's influence regarding a university education was more explicitly pronounced than the fathers as Maryam reflected,

*“My dad was like you study if it is best for you, but my mum was like you have to study and you have to go to university. So she always pushed us towards that path”*

SG 3

There was also a push from mothers who saw higher education as a means to have a good life and a good future. As Maryam further narrated,

*“My mum really pushed me, she really supported me and she said that you need to have a good life in the future and you need to study. My mum pushed us all. Me and my elder sister were more like into business studies and my brother wants to get into pharmacy and my younger sister wants to be a doctor”*

SG 3

The concepts of Izzat and Baradari are already discussed in the preceding sections; however, some of the participants' responses give the impression that mothers had a bigger influence in this regard. Altaf clearly related his experience,

*“My mum used to say to me ‘look if you are a vegetable seller, nobody will ever say that so and so is my relative’ you know. When I was in Pakistan she would say that ‘you are not concentrating’ and she would say that ‘if you become somebody who is a professional then people are going to appreciate that’”*

SG 1

#### 5.3.2.7 Peer's and Society/ Community's Influence

Varying influences from outside the family such as from friends or other members of the community also played its role in shaping the attitudes and beliefs about future Careers.

In addition to his mother's influence, as narrated above, Altaf decision to take up medicine was also encouraged by the company of likeminded and ambitious peers he had in school.

*When I came to fifth year I met different kind of people. When I came to the fifth year I met people who were quiet, really intelligent and it was the same school. In fourth year some of those guys went to college and I stayed because I wanted more and more education and I did well in my exams but now I was meeting guys who*

*were a little bit serious and one of them wanted to do physics at Oxford and one of them wanted to do chemistry and they were just pushing you on and then you worked hard and you worked hard together and we just helped each other out and that kind of thing and that was really interesting and then when I got my grades I was really happy”*

SG 1

Other external sources of influence might include members of the community such as Dad’s friends in the case of Altaf. He remembered,

*“There were a lot of friends of my dad who were doctors. So often we would have in our house a lot of professionals. So even though he was a businessman his company was in fact of professionals you know doctors, lawyers and engineers, Asians and non-Asians as well. Mostly his company was not of people who were in a similar position but people who were actually quite well educated. So I got to meet these people and got interested (in medicine)”*

SG 1

However, expectations from society or community members may also act as a source of pressure, particularly if the child is not able to fulfil these expectations as Rukhsar observed in her community. She said,

*“it is really difficult for people if they found out that 'oh she probably got rejected' because you can see their attitudes...I personally don't care...if I am not a doctor I will be a scientist...if I will not be a scientist I will be whatever a housewife...I don't care but once you see a rejection from people it difficult...and I decided I am definitely going to be a doctor and I did and it was nice”*

SG 4

#### 5.3.2.8 Children’s own wishes (realising potential, victims, criminal)

Although parents wanted their children to choose medicine, law, or engineering as their careers, and influenced their choice of subjects in school, however, the children sometimes were inclined towards areas other than science and could have realised their potential had they had an opportunity. Amir clearly remembers the time when he had to choose his subjects in School. He said,

*“I was really creative and I was very good at woodwork and craft & design and I did not really need to study for the exams and I got full marks and even in practical I was like I could make anything with wood and I stopped that in standard grades because I had to pick up a subject and I think if I had carried out in that subject I think I would have become something else.*

Dr. Waleed, a Key Informant, is of the view that children should be allowed to develop their skills.

He said,

*"To not let a child realise his potential I regard that as criminal...we must realise that people have different skills"*

KI 1

This push to select science subjects with an aim to study medicine etc. without realising whether the child has the ability or grades to pursue that further or not leaves the child with nothing and then he is drawn towards low paid low skilled careers. As Parvez described,

*"We just ignore that (child not good at science) and we push him for that (choosing science subjects in school. So he neither becomes a doctor nor becomes what he wants to do and then he gets an ordinary jobs. Most of the kids are victims; they don't get the jobs, particularly in Edinburgh. So they have to then work as shop keeper or shop assistant or shop managers which is not very highly paid..."*

KI 4

### 5.3.2.9 Asian Stereotype

The Asian Stereotype of being shopkeepers might have an influence on the children to be oriented away from the family's business. This sometimes poses as a combination of a negative attitude or as a class issue. There appears to be an assumption among the young generation that being a shopkeeper is of lower socio-economic class as compared to majority white. Rukhsar, from the second generation appeared to have made that connection, she said,

*"Because most Scottish people compared to Asian people had a higher standard of living generally, so when they see Asian people they just assume that you are an asylum seeker or having a corner shop"*

SG 4

The society perceiving Asians to be of shop keeping background may have been perceived by the younger generation to be obstructive to their upward mobility and may have helped orient towards achieving a good career and away from their small family businesses. Altaf had an experience in school with his teacher that he says made him determined to break that mould of stereotype.

He said,

*"I know once one of my teachers, she was a language teacher and she once said to me, what does your dad do and I think I told her and then she said are you going to work in your father's shop? This happened in the second or third year you know serious study hadn't started yet and she said that to me and I was like how can you say that to me, how dare you? How can you make an assumption that I will be doing this and you know at that time I was careless and this really made me think because I was like you know, how can she think that I was going to end up like that and I was like 'lady I am going to prove you wrong'"*

SG 1

Communication between communities sometimes help to break the stereotype, however, media has played its role in shaping such a perspective. Yaseen certainly thinks that is the reason. He said,

*"people sometimes have a liberal clichéd presumption about me and then when they start speaking to me they realise I am nothing compared to what they see on TV or media...Movies like east is east or bend it like Beckham... a lot of it is true...most of stereo types are bang on like my father works in a shop...but I don't really let that follow me around too much. As soon as you think...that's a stereo type picture..."*

SG 8

The Asian stereotype of that of a shopkeeper might be a deterrent for some people for joining the family business, as Wasim mentioned,

*"Perhaps because it is clichéd that your dad owns a corner shop...it doesn't show a great deal...and I completely agree that people don't want to join their fathers business"*

SG 12

### 5.3.2.10 Quality of Life (Money vs. Happiness)

This aspect has emerged as one of the important aspects that seem to regulate youngsters' orientation towards the career that they want to pursue in the future. They have seen their parents work hard and long hours; they have seen the money that has been generated from shops and the standard of life that they have been able to achieve. However, at the same time a higher quality of life is a bigger consideration and as compared to what money can bring it is the happiness factor that is perhaps more important. Altaf, who is a doctor with the NHS has seen his father working hard in the shops and the family earn money. For him it is about being able to maximise his potential, contribute to society and be happy in life, all of which he thinks his father's occupation or money cannot give. He said,

*"I had seen how hard my father worked, I saw it actually and I saw how much of a toll it took on his life. And it is not the physical aspect of it and I think as a shopkeeper how much can you contribute to people's life and being a professional you are using your mind, maximising your potential and you are contributing to people's life much more and you are caring much more as a doctor. Being a shopkeeper, yes, you can earn more money as a business man and I think I have the skills that my father has in being an entrepreneur because I really can engage with people and I think I can really earn good money being a business man and all that but you know what? It is not about the money, it is about enjoying what you do. And medicine gave me that. And the more I thought about it the more I was convinced that I wanted to do that. Being a businessman I would have the money but will I be happy? It really was not the stuff from the spiritual aspect. I did not want to be one of these guys who have a lot of money but not having any happiness"*

SG 1

Having a £3 million turn over from his 3 nursing homes has given Rukhsar's father a lot of money and a comfortable life style, however, she also observed that her father is never content even after spending a lot of time earning that money. Being content is what she is looking from her own career as that is what success means to her and not being extremely rich. She relates her experience thus,

*"As the saying 'a rich man can't get the heaven'. You see rich people all the time and you think 'are they really happy?' You are spending your life earning a million pounds, you spend a lot of time earning money but it's not going to get you anywhere. He is not*



*happy, he is never content. I want to be content. As long as I can afford the food and as long as I my kids are Ok, I will be happy. I don't want to keep on striving for more, that's unsuccessful for me. So being content"*

SG 4

At a different level the consequences of working such long hours has clearly been a disincentive to choose their family business as a career option. Being able to spend time with the family and taking part in family events appears to be a critical factor towards their career orientation and particularly a push away from the family business. Dr. Waleed has observations similar to some members of the second generation. He observed,

*"A. They see the hours which is phenomenal; B. they see no life; they cannot attend any weddings, any funerals and so on. So they themselves do not want to go into (the family business)."*

KI 1

### 5.3.3 Succession

Succession is the core subject that this research deals with. There have been varied pressures on Asian businesses in the last few years. These pressures have been both external as well as internal. External pressures are from the changing market structure such as increased competitions, amendments in regulations that are perceived to be unfavourable to the independent small retail businesses in the UK. Internal pressures are from, among others, an increased phenomenon of 'reluctance' among the potential inheritors of the business. There are many reasons that might have induced such reluctance mainly their socialisation in the environment they have grown up in. The primary aim of this research was to identify the factors that might have affected the socialisation of the young Asians in an environment that is influenced by at least two cultures i.e. Asian as well as British, their religion, language, ethnic and racial identities. Their socialisation in turn also affects their career orientation. This could have further implications on the succession and therefore the long term continuity of the business and the long term sustainability and future of the Asian community in Britain. The interviews

are intended to deeply understand the factors that may be affecting this decision making among young generation British South Asians. As previously also mentioned in the Literature Review chapter, the current perspective that succession is something that is a prerogative of the founder or the incumbent owner based on the assumption that the business will continue and the son (or daughters<sup>5</sup>) will choose the business as their career. First of all, in the Asian context, the myth is broken in the first instance as the family run business is not the first option for the youngster, in fact in this typical scenario, parents have encouraged their children to aspire for careers outside of the family business. Those who do well in studies and are capable to attain good grades for careers in medicine, law, accountancy, and engineering go on to study these at the university, however, parents of children who do not do well and are unable to get into these professions lament about the fact that their children haven't joined the family business and in some cases they haven't been doing anything at all. It appeared at the outset that the children are not opting to take up family businesses because of the nature of the business and a not-so-bright future of the businesses as mentioned above, coupled with the fact that the businesses are physically demanding and take up long hours (typically early morning to late night most days a week, including a Sunday). However, they make money, at least more than what the children who have struggled to find well paid work will earn. For the high paying and respectable professions such as medicine this may seem to be a straight forward and obvious career decision not to join the family business, but why wouldn't those who struggle to find a good job or not find one at all not join the family business? This needed further investigation and deeper understanding not just from what was visible or comprehensible from the outside but by scratching the outer surface and enquiring deep within. Some of the categories that were highlighted within the broader category of succession are depicted in the figure below:

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<sup>5</sup> Daughters, in the South Asian culture, are not expected to own the business; they are expected to get married by a certain age and leave the family to go and live with the husband and his family

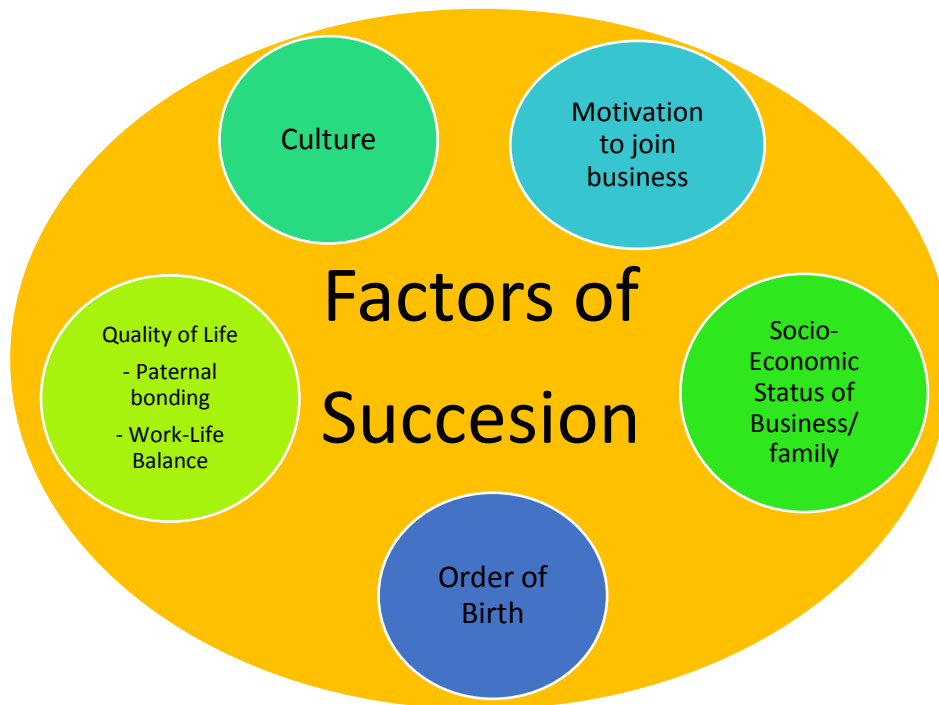


Figure 5.4: Succession related factors; Source: Author

#### 5.3.3.1 Quality of life

As has been seen in the sections above, aspirations of a good quality of life are prominent in socialisation and career orientation. Such an aspiration appears to have a significant influence on the career direction of the children. The section below organises interview data pertaining to how the aspect of 'Quality of Life' might have an effect on the Succession within Family Businesses. There are two aspects to this particular sub-category: Time from father resulting in a lack of paternal bonding and Work/ Life balance.

##### 5.3.3.1.1 Paternal Bonding

This factor was highlighted by almost every second generation member. Even though there was a realisation of parents spending a majority of their time at businesses away from family, there seem to be a minor break down in the relationship between the generations. This breakdown, manifested in a perceived

lack of paternal bonding, has been key to understand children's 'reluctance' to choose family business as their careers.

Shahid, a first generation shopkeeper had the following observation. He said,

*"The relationship between the generations is not that good. Children subconsciously do not like to go into businesses in which his father could not give time to him although the businesses are making a lot of money and making profit and the standard of life is there. But in the mind it has set up that my dad has not given time. He could not get the love from the father"*

FG 1

As highlighted previously, a key aspect of lack of paternal bonding has been the lack of family time that the child perceives the father has spent at home. This may have resulted in some children even hating the family business. As Maryam mentioned,

*"Sometimes when we had a family outing and we would have to go with my mother and dad would not be there and that was when I hated it and even if I asked my dad to take a day off he would say that no I need to go to the shop"*

SG 3

#### 5.3.3.1.2 Work/ life balance

The other aspect of quality of life i.e. a desire for a balance between the two aspects of work and family life seems to be an equally important aspect that impacts succession. This possibly stems from a general dislike originating from the perception that a shop business does not allow time away from the business. Shahid described the situation in his family.

He said,

*"In my family the children who have reached the stage who have continued to study, they are already in good jobs. They are doing better than shops. They can get holidays, weekly holidays, and yearly holidays. They go out for holidays. While those from the first generation worked for 7 days, may be they went to Pakistan for a month in many years. But those who are born here and got educated here,*

*they take 2 days off in a week and take a holiday every six months. The quality of life is better"*

FG 1

From the point of view of the second generation, what they might have missed from their father's because of the business they want to make up with their own children and this looks to be a deciding factor of not choosing the family business as their future career, as Khalil observed within the community. He said,

*"The reasons why they don't want to go into business really like I said its full time 7 days a week, long hours, when you have wife and kids you want to spend a lot of time with them. I mean I never spent a lot of time with my folks"*

SG 7

Ahsan, who runs a car valeting company of his own and decided not to join his father's shop was of the view that family life was perhaps equally important for the second generation as was work. He said,

*"I think in that aspect a lot of kids may be don't want to go into family business and rather have a 9-5 job where they are thinking of settling down in the years to come and having a family and they don't want to have the same circumstances as they were brought up"*

SG 9

Imran has now joined his family business due to a combination of his father's wishes, considering his responsibility towards his family and a lack of a proper job after completing his university education. He described his displeasure regarding working in the shop.

He mentioned,

*"I would give all this away just to get peace and just to get away from debt. I would give everything if I had a choice. I do have a choice but obviously I can't do that because my dad is on the other side and I can't be on that side. There were options to give everything away but obviously my dad did not want to and its stupid with debt and there is always something happening. It affects your confidence and I have been trying to build confidence so it is easier for me to communicate with people and gain better health. Even at university I am struggling because I am juggling with things just to get a better route in life. It's not going to happen until I sort the root problem out which is obviously the shops and stuff"*

SG 13

### 5.3.3.2 Lack of Motivation

It has been well established that challenging personal circumstances is a motivation for entrepreneurship and a lack of such circumstances might be a reason why children don't want to join the business particularly one that involves hard work.

As one of the parents put it,

*"For us it was the hunger, they have never seen that. We have seen such days. They have not seen that. Also in our countries our culture we always want to get ahead of the next person, even now it is the same. But those who are born here don't think in that way. They just want a car or a bungalow. For us we had to send money to our relatives there, our sisters or brothers, some poor people even. God has made the system someone keeps running the system. But they don't have it in them."*

FG 3

### 5.3.3.3 Culture

Culture might have an impact on succession. Children have grown up in a mixed culture i.e. a combination of both Pakistani as well as British culture. However, it is not known whether the British or the Asian cultural system is more dominant or are they equally influence children's overall values. Perhaps the decision to continue in the family business might be influenced depending upon which side children lean more towards, the British or Asian. Those children who lean towards the Pakistani culture more than British culture are likely to carry on with the family business as long as they have not pursued professional careers such as medicine, law, engineering or accountancy. Malik Bilal, whose elder son Imran has joined the family business said that he made sure that his children had imbibed the Pakistani culture. This was done by means of sending them to Pakistan regularly to learn the culture and language and also because he gave more time to his children as a result of having his home just above the shop. He said,

*"With my children I was able to give some time as my home was above the shops. That is the reason why they are standing in the shop. The other son and my elder son, they open and close the shop. I have been sending them to Pakistan. They have lived there for some years and gone to school there. They go*

*to Pakistan at least once in a year. It is our responsibility. Some children don't go to Pakistan for years. I send them every year. I at least go 3-4 times a year at least once I take them with me. So thank God they are walking with me, they look after the business. I haven't had any such problems"*

FG 3

#### 5.3.3.4 Negative Portrayal of Shops

The aversion from joining the family business might be generated from the desire for stability that a regular job might bring. As Maryam mentioned,

*"In terms of not having a 9 to 5 job and struggling with the family and the shop and in money wise as well. You know when the business is good it was good and when it was bad it was really bad and my mum would say that if we had a proper 9 to 5 job they would run the family properly and in terms of money wise as well we would have a better income"*

SG 3

Ultimately the personality of the individual also matters and aversion to risk might be a factor that might decide whether a person wants to carry on the family business particularly if the business is seen to be a source of stress. As Rukhsar mentioned,

*"Business is risky. Everybody would love money. I don't want to have that stress. I am not a business type person. I don't think I would be successful. I am not doing it for the money. I want to be comfortably well off but I just don't want to be rich. I think my dad always wanted to be very very rich but it never rubbed off to me. I didn't want to do that. I don't want to be that person."*

SG 4

The externalities that the business might generate might be a source of frustration for some people and might be a cause for looking at ways to leave the family business. Imran, who joined his father's shop and whose father Malik Bilal thinks that the children are happy and are more inclined towards the family business, was of an opposite view. He described his frustration with the business as,

*"I think because of the shops and stuff like when I am on holiday I am on holiday but when you come back it's back to the lifestyle. The lifestyle, the taxes everything. In terms of the business that we are running, the taxes coming in."*

*Even when you are paying off some of the taxes, the bills, the debt it takes your life and everyday as if you are in some sort of jail and you want peace and you get away from it and in the UK you cannot get away with it there is always something that keeps coming up"*

SG 13

The externalities might take other forms such as trouble at shops such as stealing or break-ins sometimes at odd times at night as Khalil described his experience. He said,

*"You have to realise that the people you are serving, it was a bit of a rough area. We never had any problem really but you always get people who don't speak so good and then they steal and there is always kids' trouble. There is always a headache. So there are these things to contend with. There is a constant phone call at night time that your shop is broken and you are like 'oh no'. There is a late phone call at night and you are thinking 'oh no, I hope it is not my shop which is broken'. But that's part of the business, there's long hours; seven days a week. You know these are the kinds of things that come with a shop. So it's not something I really fancied doing myself.*

SG 7

#### 5.3.3.5 Family Size/ Order of Birth

Succession might also depend on the size of the family or the order of birth. In cases where the family is big and some children have done well in education have gone away from the business whereas others who haven't done well might look at the family business as a future career option. As Mr. Khalid, a Key Informant mentioned,

*"Where the household is small like one or two sons or daughters, after a while the parents will get older and due to age the parents will have to sell their business. But those that have larger families some elements went to professionals and some of them are part of business and now expanding or running the business"*

KI 2

Imran felt that he had to take up the business because of his duty to undertake family responsibility because of being the eldest among four siblings. Khalil also sees a clear divide between the older and younger children in the family



and often it is the oldest that is looked at as carrying the family legacy forward as he described the situation in his family.

He said,

*“My oldest brother he was going to college and he sort of had to go into the family business. I think it was (pressure). Without him it would have been difficult for my father to do”*

SG 7

### 5.3.4 Future of Asian Family Business in the UK

#### 5.3.4.1 Career pathways

On the basis of the observations from the interviews, the various carer pathways that the young generation from family business backgrounds are choosing can be categorised. The figure below suggests how these are divided.

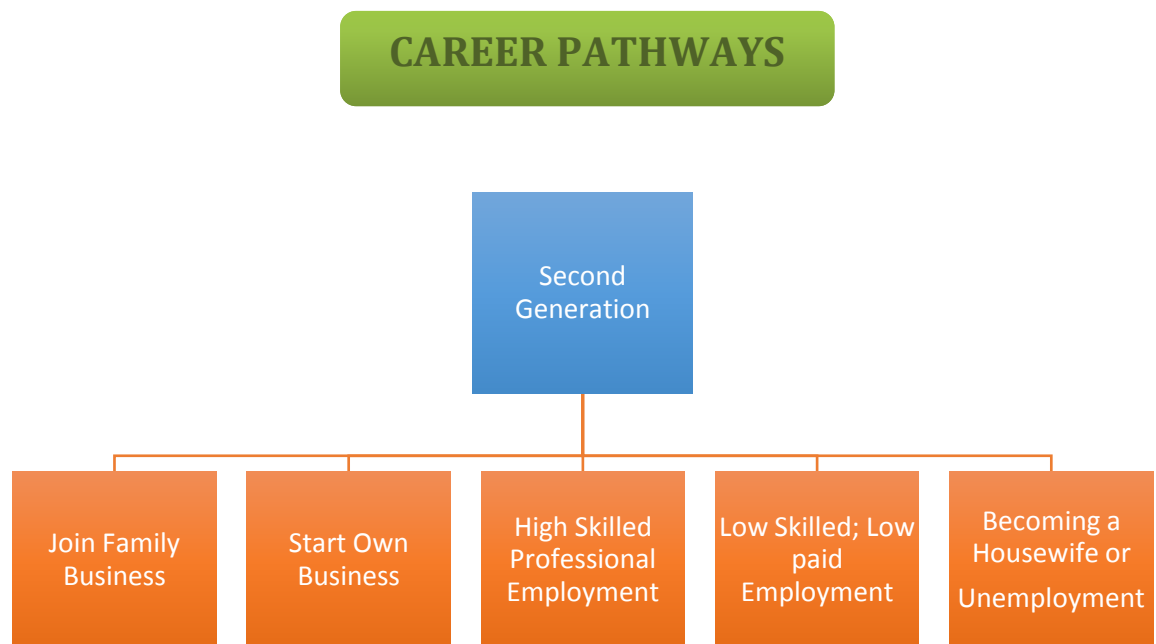


Figure 5.5: Career Pathways chosen by second generation; Source: Author

The four employment categories or career pathways currently chosen by members of the second generation Asian small family run businesses are illustrated above.

The first category is the ones who have chosen to join their family business. In this category, it may appear that those who have joined the business have demonstrated a successful transition or succession; it may be the case that the children are doing it out of parental pressure or due to a lack of alternative career options after completing their education so it may be either voluntarily or because of other factors discussed in this section such as order of birth, parental pressure.

The second pathway that is described is the one that has started their independent business. However, these businesses are not totally independent of their family as they are set up with the help of family's resources in terms of finance or labour. They utilise family resources in similar ways in which the older generation started their businesses. Those who have started their own business though show that the choice is voluntary.

The third category is those who have been educated to a high level and have chosen professional employment for themselves such as doctors, lawyers or accountants. Joining family business was not a serious option for them for various reasons and not just because of their inclination towards higher education. Many have considered various factors such as quality of life, higher socio-economic status, and their choice is also influenced, perhaps indirectly by the cultural factors such as Izzat and Baradari as discussed previously both in the socialisation and career orientation sections.

The fourth category is the one where the child has not gone too far in their education or have not attained a grade enough to merit a professional job. In this case it is seen that the child has taken up low pay low skilled employment mostly in supermarkets. The adverse impact of socialisation factors discussed above are shown in this category as the children have the option of joining the family

business but have chosen not to do so. This is seen as a failure by the first generation on their own part partly due to not being able to give time to their children. Dr. Waleed identifies the act of compensation that some parents have demonstrated in lieu of the lack of parental time.

He says,

*“yes it has had an effect on the children because we cannot spend a lot of time on them...we tend to compensate it with money...so when they buy the latest computer game or expensive things...or even when they become...teenagers...we buy them cars and BMWs and so on...as if that is to compensate that...but these children are spoiled...and they are not fully socialised into our culture”*

KI 1

The fifth category is not demonstrated as a voluntary career choice; however, it may be demonstrated as an involuntary or even a forced choice. The choice of being a housewife is not a desired career option even though there may be little resistance shown by the woman herself and appears to be abiding by the cultural norms prescribed by the family or society. However, voluntary or involuntary, it cannot be ruled out that the degree of strictness may be able to determine the choice of this particular career among Asian women. Also a high number of Asian youth are unemployed and this category becomes an involuntary choice. Although the exact number of unemployed youth particularly from family business backgrounds is not available, the overall youth unemployment among Asian youth in general is very high. Nearly 32% of all Asian youth (16-24 year olds those who are not in full time education) are unemployed a number that is nearly double that of white youth (18%).

#### 5.3.4.2 Spoiled children

Some have explained the reason for those children who have not gone in to professional jobs and are choosing low skilled low pay jobs over joining family businesses as spoiled children due to the comfortable life that they have got from their parents as a result of the hard work and sacrifices made by the parents.

Naseer, from the first generation said,

*"I think now the generation is more into, they want an easy life like 9 to 5 job, but they want the money. Why they are in a half-way house is that they live in with their mother and father they are paying all the bills, they are getting the money and get to keep it and spend it and they can spend that on their life, they don't have any extra expenses, if they had the extra expenses they might do what we went to do like we had that go but they don't have that go anymore. They are not really bothered you know".*

FG 2

#### 5.3.4.3 Higher Education

Level of education and particularly entry into higher education is a factor that might have an influence on the decision to be in the third category or move to other categories.

Naseer further added,

*"I think those that have dropped out of college or school they have gone into business. They have rebelled but their families have been on top of them and said go ahead and do your own thing and after six months they have come back into business and that is because of the financial reasons. They have lived a life of luxury and the dad might give them money or if they work they get a £100 (a week) and with no experience they get the labouring jobs and they don't want a labouring job either so they are caught in between so they have come back in their dad's business. But once they go to university they think differently"*

FG 2

Choosing low skilled low paid jobs is an option that the parents think is not something that will be sustainable over a long time because of the comfortable lifestyle that the parents have provided to the children, mainly because of the success of family businesses. As Malik Bilal observed,

*"They will merely be hand to mouth...with the money they will earn...but if they are smart enough they will think about their children...The biggest worry will be who will become their life partner...if they get a good life partner from Pakistan it will be fine...they will think about the children...but if they get someone from here...then they will only think about themselves..."*

FG 3

*I will blame the parents not the children...it is the parents who have spoiled the children...when I come to the shop...I tell my son to come at a fixed*

*time...when he spends time here there will be no other thought that will come to the mind...his mind will be in business...now when I put my son full time into business...he will say what I have everything why do I need to do anything else...*

FG 3

#### 5.3.4.4 Future of family businesses

The sections above on socialisation and career orientation explored the factors that influence career pathways that the children from family business backgrounds have chosen and the determinants of those choices. With regards to the reluctance among the young generation coupled with the choice of alternative career options available the uptake of family business as a career is low. However, this has an implication on the overall future of Asian ethnic family businesses in Britain. As Altaf shared his observation, he thinks that businesses will be taken over by new migrants or some children who don't perform well at school, however, those who go on to get good education it is not an option for them.

He said,

*"There are a lot of businesses that are being taken over by new immigrants and families being expanded by bringing more people from Pakistan. And some people may not be doing well at school and may be they will say look this is the best option for me...But those of us that do well we don't see it as sensible option going back to the shop business because it is hard to do that stuff, it's not an easy life"*

SG 1

However, a number of businesses now face the option of closing down because of a higher rate of attrition and kids choosing alternative career pathways. This may result in businesses closing down as has already been observed, or being rented out. As Amir, who works as a call centre employee, observed.

He said,

*It happens all the time, like in the films, sons want to venture out and do their own thing and they want to be self-made even if their fathers have huge businesses. But I am not sure what happens with those businesses (other Asians)*

*I guess they just sell them but it is a loss because those businesses have been there forever. Some kids are going into business like in restaurants or online selling.*

SG 5

Sonia thinks that her father would rent it out in the situation where her brother would not take up the family business pathway.

She said,

*No I think he (father) is just thinking of working until he can. Earlier when my grand dad had shops he thought his sons would carry on but now the situation is very different. My brother won't do it. So my dad may just rent out and earn an income.*

SG 3

There is a level of uncertainty regarding the future of the family businesses as there are a various factors such as inter-generational or other family conflicts. In such a scenario succession planning is not possible and even though the parents have had hopes of children taking over in the future, unexpected events such as father-son conflict take place and that is a factor that ultimately emerges as a determining factor. Amir has this observation about this family where the future is uncertain. He expressed his observation,

*"the business, I don't know how it's gonna end up...because my uncle (the one who owns the pharmacy)...he has got two sons but he has had a lot of problems with them like...and one of them is a pharmacist. He kind of wanted to do his own thing I think...he got married as well without his dad's permission. So he is kind of separated, not separated like they do talk to each other but he is not working in the family business and he has got other ambitions...the other son...is uneducated and he is married he is kind of controlled working there but he is kind of wanting to do his own thing as well. He is doing dispensing at the pharmacy as well. The older brother's son is working there but he does not own the shop. I don't know what will happen. Like my father had a shock. My dad's older brother went to my granddad and asked him to give my father's shop to him and dad lost that business and that's an example of his nature. Something like that might happen in the future with the pharmacy. Sons are not in it and he has a daughter and she is an accountant se she may come in. but I think they still think of it as a unit and not like this family and that family"*

SG 5

#### 5.3.4.5 Children can't match parents' success

As previously mentioned a comfortable life provided to the children by the parents, as a result of business success, is a barrier for children to take up the business. Unlike the founders who worked hard and long hours, the young generation cannot do the same. Yaseen who dropped out of his university course and works at a call centre, thinks that it is beyond the young generations' capability to achieve what the parents have achieved. He said,

*"the parents have worked that hard to give the children a comfortable life...and I know a lot of people have had a comfortable life...like they even did not have to lift a finger for anything...but now their parents are getting old...and they are not able to keep up...they are not machines...the children will never be able to go and do what they have achieved... they just cannot do it...I know myself...then it is like we start again...its almost start again...they have tasted that kind of great life...they don't know how to make it happen...and they have to live a much simple life....its much easier to go from a simple life to a more extravagant life but it is very difficult to go from a comfortable or extravagant life to a simple life"*

SG 8

However, Malik Bilal, from the first generation thinks that this is due to the adverse influence of the British culture on the children which has detached them of their Asian culture. Malik Bilal described his feelings as,

*"We have worked very hard...we have even worked even 20 hours a day...the kids can never do that sort of work...I think the coming generations those who are born here...they will not do as much as we have done...may be there will be 10-20 per cent will take it forward...but mostly they will adopt the UK culture...they will never go back to Pakistan or India..."*

FG 3

There is a realisation among the young generation about the reward that the long hours and hard work provide and that might be a reason for the children not taking up the father's business. Imran, who has joined the father's shop after completing his university degree, mainly because of being the eldest son thinks that low income from the businesses do not justify the long hours and hard work that his father has put in over the years. He mentioned,

*"From when I was conscious...I don't think it made a lot of money.....because when my dad when he was in his prime...he always used to work hard...and he*

*used to get a lot of help from us...we still did to do much work...but he was expecting that we would work like how he did...but obviously we don't do that...it's not that we don't choose to do it or not...but we didn't have the thirst or the motivation or the ability...because there is no reward at the end..."*

SG 13

Wasim, himself an entrepreneur, although appreciative of his father's achievements and proud of his background because of the scale of achievement from poor background in Pakistan to a highly successful businessman in UK thinks that to replicate the older generations' achievements is not possible. He says,

*"I guess I have always looked at the bigger picture...my dad's worked very very hard....what he could do what he has done in his lifetime...I could not do in 500 years...good on him...I really appreciate the fact that this is our background..."*

SG 12

## 5.4 Trans-generational entrepreneurship

So although, as discussed in the preceding section, that there is observed to be uncertainty about the future of Asian family businesses, mainly due to the alternative career pathways that the young generation are adopting, and that not a significant proportion are choosing entrepreneurship as their first career. However, this is not to say that they have closed the door on a career in entrepreneurship altogether. Entrepreneurship has emerged as a career of choice even if not as a first choice but as a later career move for some.

### 5.4.1 Back to Business after employment

Imran, a second generation participant who has joined his father's business after completing a university degree mentioned,

*"Many in England are actually coming back to business...I have a friend who worked in City of Chambers on Lothian road and he has a degree and now he has got a shop..."*

SG 13



Saeem Walid, a race and equality coordinator for Fife council, who participated in the research as a Key Informant, observed that young generation members including those who had chosen high skilled professional employment as their career options as some were reverting back to running their own business. He said,

*"The second generation and academic is not that black and white as there are some second generation who have chosen academics and after 5-10 years they realise that they want to be their own boss and they are now getting into the commercial routes especially the Pakistani community tried that professional route for about 10 years and then gone back to own their businesses"*

KI 2

Dr. Waleed, retired school teacher and another Key Informant detected several reasons for this and said that the possibility of a good lifestyle that a career in running own business can give could be the main reason. He observed,

*"I think possibly it is the lure of money. When I talked to my neighbour about this young man, he can earn in a week what he was earning in a month, so his earning has gone up. Together with that he will have his flashy cars and that gives him the prestige then. So primarily it is the lifestyle. It is attributable to lifestyle but it is also the pull to continue the family's business that is his father has invested so much the time and energy into that and that is his mother's main income...so if he goes into the family business then he is continuing the tradition"*

KI 1

#### 5.4.2 Entrepreneurial Skills

Perhaps most of what has been observed in this research as a result of exploring the factors that determine career outcomes among young generation Asians from family business backgrounds has tended to demonstrate that the effects of socialisation has been largely unfavourable towards long term continuity particularly of the small Asian family business sector such as CTN shops, grocery and hardware shops, restaurants and takeaways. However, in terms of trans-generational entrepreneurship, socialisation of youngsters in a business family and

their experiences of helping out with their family businesses from a young age has indeed implanted skills that are important to start and operate a business successfully. The interaction between the two cultural systems leading to the formation of the bi-cultural system has given a unique advantage to the young generation that was absent in the older generation. Saeem Walid, a Key Informant, observed that there are key skills such as communication that is important for any business in general but particularly to a new business started and operated by a single person without many employees. He stated his observations as follows,

*"There are those who are at least articulate in terms of liaising with the bank managers, accountants, solicitors...yeah...and also implementing technology like scanning as they have the basic knowledge of working with computers and IT skills...yeah...so there is a marked difference"*

KI 2

Also the group solidarity or kinship factors create conditions that are favourable for accessing resources to start a new business. This combined with other skills along with an entrepreneurial mind-set may help young generation to choose the entrepreneurship career pathway. She said,

*"I think there will be a struggle...but I think the amazing thing about the Asian family set us is that if one member of the family is successful then for example money is pooled into a family pot so there is opportunity ...if a couple of members are successful. But I also think Asian communities are pretty entrepreneurial any way and I think they will always look for ducking and diving ways to make money either be that through getting into a more professional field so I think in some ways things may be ok..."*

KI 3

Helping in the family shop is looked at as a good source of knowledge and skills for the children as Sonia related her experience. She said,

*"Because we were at my dad's shop a lot and we were learning a lot. Not so much working with the tills but helping my dad with the finance and making sure that. And meeting the solicitor as my dad's English was not that good, I would read and explain it to my dad and from there we just kind of built interest"*

SG 3

### 5.4.3 Entrepreneurial Aspirations

In addition to imbuing necessary skills it also encourages children to aspire for an entrepreneurial future. Khalil, who started working in a major bank in Edinburgh after closing of their shops after his father's death, dreams of going back to self-employment particularly the rewards and satisfaction that he thinks it may bring. He said,

*"I don't want to continue with this. I don't want to be in the bank for 20 years or something. And to tell you the truth I would like to go back to some sort of self-employment. I don't want to be in an office job in this department or any other department. I don't think I could stay in and I can't imagine working for 30 years. I would like to just be my own boss even a family business. It is just a bit of identity that yes I can do that and also the money as well. You are looking at making more money and you can feel a bit more proud that this is mine."*

SG 7

Motivation to start own business may come from an undesirable job or there could be serendipitous or unanticipated events that lead individuals towards entrepreneurship, as was the case for Ahsan, who runs a mobile car valeting business. Prior to this Ahsan worked in the Insurance sector and was made redundant. He set up his business with the severance package he was offered.

He related his experience about it as follows,

*"it was just I am not a highly educated guy so I just was doing general administration job and I got bored of it after a while and I always had this sort of something in me that I want to set my own business"*

SG 9

#### 5.4.4 Experience in Entrepreneurship

Working in the family business has advantages in terms of development of skills and aspirations, and in addition to this perhaps having independent entrepreneurial experiences may be a motivating factor to start a business in the future.

*“when I was 14 I sold a car in my school...I drove a car to school and I sold it in the school car park during lunch time...when the teachers found out and they phone my dad and they called my dad to come to school and said this is what he did...and he said sorry for what I had done but when we came out of the school he actually told me that was actually fantastic...and I think they always recognised that...I have always been like that and its always there...when you're walking about its kind of what I am tuned into and I am quite happy about that...”*

SG 12

#### 5.4.5 Breaking Out

Finally, Breaking out (or diversifying into new areas or sectors) has been seen as not only desirable but also an eventuality for those who want to move away from family businesses and start their own businesses. Children who are starting their own businesses who are from family business backgrounds are seen to diversify into new areas and not just only restricting themselves to the traditional sectors in which the first generation had operated. As Saeem Walid observed,

*“The second generation have the cash flow whether its because of the shops or the links with the banks...they would diversify into more traditional sectors in areas like clothing (retail), leisure industries like bowling clubs, laundrettes even franchises like McDonalds etc...Some are going into nightclubs but some are going into leisure activities that are not unislamic. The community does not have the experience of these sectors so the entrepreneurs who are going into these sectors are risk takers anyway. And not just they are diversifying into leisure industry; they are also diversifying into IT and pharmaceuticals even at the national level which is more lucrative or even professional services. So there are sectors that people didn't think of and property is one of the major ones; and property. They are entrepreneurs and of they see a crest on the wave they will move into that; they are buying flats in Dubai or Florida or investing in IT or franchising. They are entrepreneurs by nature and they are riding the crest of the wave and they have the cash flows...”*

KI 2

## 5.5 Emerging Themes

Based on the findings presented above a number of different categories have emerged under which the various factors identified from the data could be placed. The broad categories that emergent themes can be placed are Personal factors, Cultural factors, Familial/ Social factors, Economic and Environment, Education/ Aspirations, and Family Business factors. As shown in the findings above each of these factors impact the decision making process with regards to career selection and family business succession, as will be discussed in the chapter on discussion (Chapter Six). Some of these factors may further influence other factors in the process of development of the potential inheritor within their personal environment. For example, the category 'factors related to education/ aspirations' could be understood as a secondary factor as the components within this factor such as specific educational attainment or the desire for a higher quality of life are factors that are influenced by 'personal factors' of gender or 'cultural factors' such as Status, prestige or Kinship pressure or the inheritors' bi-cultural identity. These combinations of factors can be understood as 'clusters' of factors and how they together explain the succession process within a family firm is shown in the discussion chapter that follows.

Although the experience of each participant, both from the First generation or Second generation, which was explored in detail using the life history and in-depth interview approach, is unique, there are strands that are running through all interviews, their experiences and observations and there are patterns that have emerged from the data. The research has explored the factors of Socialisation and Career Development and how these factors influence the career orientation of the young generation members of family business backgrounds. This then is helpful in understanding what may be the possible causes or determinants of the career pathways that the children select as their careers.

<b>PERSONAL FACTORS</b>  Gender Ethnic Origin Order of Birth	Personal factors are important in explaining Asian family business succession as each of these sub-factors such as Gender, Order of Birth and Ethnic Origin is shown to have an influence on the potential inheritors' decision making regarding succession.
<b>CULTURAL FACTORS</b>  Status/ Kinship                      Prestige/ Bi-Cultural Identity	This is an important category that explains the influence of Asian cultural factors pertaining to decisions influenced by the Asian 'code of honour' of <i>Izzat</i> (Status/ Prestige/Honour) and <i>Baradari</i> (Kinship association). As well as the above socialisation in a dual culture has an effect on the potential inheritors' overall outlook.
<b>FAMILIAL FACTORS</b>  Parental Influence Society Peers	These factors represent an important aspect of a potential inheritor's life and influence on her decision making. Parental and societal influence are manifestations of cultural factors and have a deep influence on career selections. Peer pressure, that is influence of those in similar situations such as other young Asians from family businesses also makes it a difficult decision making process.
<b>FAMILY BUSINESS FACTORS</b>  Socio-Economic Position Nature of Business Relationship with parents	These factors explain the direct impact on the inheritors' lives and decision making could be explained using these factors. Asian stereotyping is an important factor here as this explains the barriers youngsters faced due to their ethnicity and race; as well as nature of business of being a shopkeeper; paternal bonding, effected due to nature of binding explains a desire to break-out.
<b>ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT</b>  Market regulations Economic conditions Labour market	This factor explains the impact of economic factors such as market conditions and labour market conditions over career related decision making among potential inheritors. The changing economic landscape due to regulatory changes
<b>EDUCATION/ ASPIRATIONS</b>  Level of Educational Attainment Aspirations for Work-Life Balance/ Quality of	This category highlights and explains the impact of factors such as aspirations for a work-life balance, better quality of life and level of educational attainment on selection of career pathways and therefore on family business succession.

Figure 5.6: Emergent themes and sub-factors; Source: Author

The agents or institutions that are active in the process of socialisation and career development were found to be similar such as Family, Culture, Religion,

Work (Family Business), Peers or Society, Education, and Ethnic Origin. The interaction between these agents or institutions with the individual are understood to have shaped the attitudes and beliefs that influence career orientation. These above factors and there sub-factors are discussed individually as well as their effect on career orientation and family business succession. Further understanding is developed by discussing the findings with the help of literature. These discussions are then used to construct a conceptual framework with the aim to develop an in-depth understanding of career orientation among young generation Asians from Family businesses, Family Business Succession and also alternative career pathways to Succession.

## 5.6 Summary

This chapter presented the findings from the data collection phase. Using the Life History interviewing method, data was collected from a total of 21 personal and in-depth interviews. Interviews were conducted in different cities of Scotland and from multiple data sources i.e. First Generation, Second Generation and Key Informants. Using open and focused coding practices, data were analysed and categorised from which factors effecting socialisation and career development were derived. Also, how data pertaining to succession and transgenerational continuity were explained. A factor diagram was presented (figure 5.6) explaining the various broader factors and the sub-factors under each factor were presented and explained.

The next chapter Six: Discussion will focus on the interpreting the data as well as understanding the meaning of the various factors and their impact on career orientations and thereby succession among Asian small family firms. Data will be triangulated with literature so as to inform the emergent conceptual framework.

## CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

### 6.1 Introduction

The analysis of the life history and in-depth interviews of this research has resulted in a number of new emergent themes that will help to generate new explanations regarding family business succession. This will also help to further extend the literature regarding succession in Asian family businesses in particular and contribute to the present understanding of succession in family businesses in general. As mentioned at the end of the previous chapter, the categories were combined into a number of broad factors such as factors related to education, cultural factors, personal factors, factors related to the family business, economic factors and familial and societal factors.

A revised theoretical framework has emerged which has been further developed from the initial conceptual framework presented in the literature review chapter (see Fig.1.4). A number of new categories emerged that have been added to the developed framework. The framework not only highlights the various factors that affect career orientation among young Asians but it also demonstrates the effect of these factors on the varied career pathways that emerge as a result of the process of socialisation and career development, which is also one of the major contributions of this thesis. These themes are discussed in the subsequent sections.

Guided by this initial conceptual framework that was presented in the literature review, the research data was analysed which resulted in the emergence of new themes. This chapter discusses these emergent themes in the light of our present knowledge and compares that with findings from data analysis. The three major broad themes of socialisation, career development and succession are then understood in the light of this discussion.



The aim of this thesis is to explore the factors that influence socialisation and career development and how they may affect Career Orientation. This present discussion is aimed at bringing together the present understanding of the various themes and concepts from literature, the findings from the research sample with the aim of generating a comprehensive explanation of the 'socialisation and career development effects on Asian family business succession'.

Further it attempts to understand the career orientation i.e. development of beliefs and attitudes towards specific career alternatives and particularly how that might affect succession in family businesses.

The research questions that this thesis aims to answer are as follows:

- What socialisation processes does the young generation from South Asian family business backgrounds undergo?
- What is the effect of socialisation on career outcomes among second generation British Asians of family business background?
- What is the effect of socialisation and career orientation on the Family Business Succession?

## 6.2 The Phenomenon of 'Reluctance'

First of all the findings presented in the previous chapter confirm the presence of the phenomenon of 'reluctance' among second generation family business members. This is in accordance with the emergent understanding being developed in the ethnic family business and ethnic entrepreneurship literature notably among Mann, 1992; Bachkaniwala et al, 2001; Janjhuha-Jivraj & Woods, 2002; Ram & Jones, 2001; Basu, 2003) that the Asian family business community has been in transition and that there are multiple factors that may disrupt inter-generational family business continuity. Children's reluctance to join the family business has been discussed as a significant factor as a cause of this disruption. This research aimed at developing a detailed understanding of this phenomenon of

reluctance among the second generation. The findings suggested a number of factors that may aid and enhance our present understanding of Asian family business succession.

Based on the findings presented in the previous chapter, the following broad categories have emerged that may impact on socialisation processes and career aspirations of the 2nd generation children:

- Factors related to education and aspirations
- Factors related to family business
- Cultural factors
- Personal Factors
- Familial and Societal Factors
- External Environment

The sub-factors that populate these broad factors are gender, race or ethnic origin, order of birth, prestige, kinship, bi-cultural identity, parents influence, society's influence or the influence of peers, socio-economic status of the family business, Asian stereotype, parental bonding, market conditions, level of educational attainment, aspirations for a work-life balance or better quality of life. The sections below discuss these factors in the context of literature as well as the findings from interviews.

### **6.3 Factors relating to Education and Aspirations**

This category highlights and explains the impact of factors such as aspirations for a work-life balance, better quality of life and level of educational attainment on selection of career pathways and therefore on family business succession.

### 6.3.1 Aspirations for Quality of Life/ Work-Life Balance

Work-life balance is a concept that has emerged as one of the most important factors effecting Asian family business succession. In the literature on family businesses it has been established that family system and the business systems are so inter-twined that any separation between the two will cause serious disruption (Kepner, 1983:57). In the case of ethnic family businesses, as Ram et al (2001) suggested, the 'family' was an important success factor in the South Asian ethnic groups. The findings from the present sample support these understandings. However, the findings from the sample also reveal the contrast in understanding of this concept between generations. The findings portray that what was deemed to be a success factor for one generation has been perceived as a barrier to succession or even self-employment as a career choice for the second generation.

The data suggests that the aspiration for a work-life balance and a better quality of life originated in the young generations' experiences of mainly the lack of paternal bonding. This was attributed by the children to the number of hours that the father spent running the business and therefore unable to spend time with children. This coupled with the comparison with the time spent by other children at school with their parents may have led to the perception that a work-life conflict has arisen out of this lack of bonding. It is clear from the findings that the desire among the second generation to balance family life and business life seemed to have played an important role in deciding about career pathways and has emerged to be a significant factor that may eventually affect succession in Asian family businesses. This is in accordance with the literature on Work-Life balance that has shown that finding balance between work life and family life has become a significant issue (Hall and Richter, 1988). There has been a greater emphasis on the integration of work life and family life which is hoped to result in a greater harmony between the two with an intention of a satisfactory life overall.

Previous research has shown that attempting to balance work and family life itself might result in a conflict. This is based on the assumption that being strongly committed to a number of roles has negative effects on the individual well-being. It appears from the present data that this may have particularly resulted in the conflict between father-child relationships among Asian family businesses with a negative outcome of a weak parent-child bonding. This appears to have perhaps effected the development of attitudes towards careers and therefore may have a potential influence on family business succession. However, rather than only a commitment towards multiple roles, a balance between the domains of work and family may lead to more satisfaction. As Rothbard (2001) suggested that a greater commitment towards multiple roles such as those within family and work can be beneficial to the individual and which leads to a feeling of gratification both in terms of physical and mental well-being.

Work-Family conflict is the overriding aspect within the work-family literature and negative effect and neuroticism or experiences related to negative emotional states have been most frequently studied variables within this domain (Allen et. al. 2012). While the focus shifts to a higher quality of life, work-life balance is being debated as part of this wider focus (Moore, 2006). Spending more time at home with family is increasingly seen as a factor in balancing work life with family life. One of the basis of the idea of a positive influence of home comes from the view, as Moore, 2006 observed from previous literature, that the home is viewed as a positive and rewarding part of the work-life balance.

Out of many other aspects of an individual's life such as mental state of mind, or conditions such as the living conditions, (Clark, 2001) suggests that work organisations and families are two institutions most central. She highlighted the relationships between work culture and work/ family balance particularly in context of number of hours worked. Number of hours worked is particularly an important cause of imbalance and therefore conflict. The number of hours worked predisposes individuals to imbalance between work and family (Clark, 2001). This

is clearly demonstrated within the Asian small family business sample where number of hours typically exceeds 80-90 hours per week and in some instances over 100 hours per week. Although from the outset it appears that because family members work together in running the family business by taking turns for shifts, there is a superior family cohesion. In fact, contrary to this the data in this thesis reflects rising conflicts between the two generations of the family. Working long hours was seen as a strategy to maintain their competitive advantage. According to Greenhaus et al (2003) work-family imbalance often implies cutting back on work to spend more time with the family. However in the sampled families, long working hours were necessary and were justified by the first generation as it was bringing in more money and therefore prosperity, prestige and high status to the family within the Asian community. Thus the long working hours and hard physical labour appears to have played an important role in deciding about the children's career choices and thereby affecting family business succession.

### 6.3.2 Level of Educational Attainment

On average, compared to the older generation, children have higher levels of educational qualifications. This was the case for sampled children, many of whom displayed higher aspirations and generally aspirations for professional employment. Some other related factors such as communications skills and relatively lesser racial bias in the workplace appears to have resulted in an increased openness and a higher integration of Asians within the society and wider interaction with the native white population hence removing some of the barriers that the older generation faced. The findings reveal that there is much better communication between the sampled second generation and the wider society in comparison resulting in less perceived discrimination based on race and ethnicity.

These findings present a contrast in situation between the two generations as the literature on ethnic entrepreneurship, which has predominantly taken the perspective of the first or migrant generation to the body of literature that

supports the structuralist perspective that Asians chose self-employment in order to offset the discrimination due to the presence of a racial bias and a lack of integration within members of varied ethnic backgrounds (Jones et al, 1992; Jones & Ram, 2003). The findings confirm the understanding from literature that younger generation are more integrated with the wider population (Dhaliwal, 2004). These factors combined with qualification, more societal acceptance has resulted in the presence of more Asians in the general British work place. The findings from the present sample suggested that wider integration has negated the need for countering the race based issues that were experienced by the older generation which prompted them to choose self-employment. These factors combined with higher levels of educational attainment have pushed the young generation towards employment and away from family businesses. Therefore, level of educational attainment is an important factor in deciding, at least initially, which career pathway to choose and this has an effect on family business succession.

High levels of educational achievements by some Asians in the highly perceived professions of medicine, law, accountancy in the UK has allowed other parents and children to aspire to follow similar paths for the children and away from the family businesses. Also, the circumstances under which the first generation immigrated to the United Kingdom, the initial work that they undertook, their backgrounds in Pakistan and the lack of communication skills and educational qualifications were some of the reasons for the older generation to start a business. In contrast, as the findings revealed, the younger generation, who was born and brought up in the UK, have higher qualifications and skills and this combined with different life objectives, they do not see these objectives fulfilled by being in a shop or by being shopkeepers.

The table below describes the factor, sub factors and a brief description of the emergent understanding of the effect of these factors on the influence on career orientation and therefore on succession within Asian family businesses.

Factor Type	Sub-Factors	Description
Factors related to Education and Aspirations	Level of Educational attainment	On average, compared to the older generation, the children have higher levels of educational qualifications. This was the case for the children sampled, many of whom displayed higher aspirations and generally a push towards aspiring for professional employment. There is a much better communication between young generation and the wider society in comparison resulting in less discrimination based on race and ethnicity. These factors combined with qualification, more societal acceptance has resulted in the presence of more Asians in the general British work place. This negated the need for countering the race based issues that were experienced by the older generation which prompted them to choose self-employment. These factors combined with higher levels of educational attainment have pushed the young generation towards employment and away from family businesses.
	Aspirations for work-life balance	Spending more time at home with family is increasingly seen as a factor in balancing work life with family life. It is clear from the findings that the desire among the second generation to balance family life and business life seemed to have played an important role in deciding about career pathways and has emerged to be a significant factor that may eventually affect succession in Asian family businesses. The findings portray that what was deemed to be a success factor for one generation has been perceived as a barrier to succession or even self-employment as a career choice for the second generation.
<b>Table 6.1: Factors related to Education and Aspirations;</b> <b>Source: Author</b>		

## 6.4 Family Business Factors

The factors discussed here are paternal bonding, socio-economic status of the business family and the perception arising out of stereotyping of Asians as a community of shopkeepers. These are discussed in the light of the findings and a

fresh explanation is presented. New understandings have been generated as to the effects of these factors on the selection of career pathways and family business succession.

#### 6.4.1 Paternal Bonding and Quality of Life

A related concept to the work-life balance, as discussed above, is the concept of 'quality of life'. The data suggests that the long hours that the parents have put in have played an important role in the decision making among the second generation regarding career choices. The findings also imply that there seems to be a resultant lack of bonding with their fathers which appears to have led many to re-evaluate their position on the quality of life that the young generation aspire to attain, which is an important aspect of life and work in the western societies in general and United Kingdom in particular. The data also points to the expression among many of the sampled children that they missed their fathers being around and the bonding that could have developed. The respondents asserted that the problem was compounded when the children often compared the time that the parents of other children in school were having or the activities that those children were taking part in as a family that was bringing happiness. In general, the high quality of life that just being around your family might have has emerged to be a significant factor in the career related decision making.

The findings from the sample supports the literature on well-being. Quality of life refers to subjective and objective aspects of well-being and satisfaction with life (Interdisciplinary Centre for Quality of Life, 2000 as cited in Moore, 2006). Although the concept of QOL can be understood both in the context of an individual's life and also in terms of his conditions of living such as his environment, the present context is that of the individual's psychological part of life and mental satisfaction.



The factors of paternal bonding and aspiration of high QOL could be understood in the light of externalities generated from the family business. There are many positive as well as negative externalities resulting from a family business. In addition to positive externalities such as monetary gains and overall family prosperity, a perceived negative externality is that of a lack of paternal bonding resulting in a weak father-child relationship. One of the bases of the children aspiring for a better balance between work life and family life is the lack of time the children had from their fathers and the weak bonding that formed as a result. This the children directly attributed to the Family Business. The business demanded long opening hours and employment of family labour in order to save money on wages. This though increased the amount of income that the family could have thereby giving them a comfortable life, the thing that the children lacked most was the paternal bonding. In order to avoid this happening with their own families choosing careers that allow them to form a work-life balance and therefore strong bonds with their children, the young generation may be choosing careers that allow them to create such a desired balance. This may mean choosing occupations away from the family business, a decision unfavourable to succession. The findings conform to the literature mainly by Birley (1986) that suggested the reluctance of some parents to pass down a difficult and insecure business. The data from the sampled population in this thesis corroborates with research that shows a significant proportion of family business parents do not wish their children to take over, and that this is matched by an equally significant proportion of children that are reluctant to take over the family business (Birley, 2001). According to Birley (2001), there have been numerous instances in which the owners as well as their children have been unhappy of the aspects of family business.

#### **6.4.2 Socio-Economic Status (Social class) and Nature of Business**

Also, some of the sampled children expressed that throughout their time at the shops, they have experienced racist abuse and property damage sometimes at odd hours of the night. These appear to have created a negative image of another

Factor Type	Sub-Factors	Description
Family Business Factors	Socio-Economic Status	The stereotyping of Asians by the society as a community of shopkeepers has created a perception of shops as low status. This has had a significant impact in the second generations' outlook towards a career in business, not just in family business but business overall. Shops are classified in the lower-middle of the socio-economic classification, the middle level or the petit bourgeoisie according to the European Socio-Economic Classification.
	Nature of Business	Within the Asian community there has been a stratification of statuses based on the size and nature of businesses. The businesses sampled in this thesis have been the small retail businesses such as NTCs, Takeaways and small restaurants. These have been perceived by the second generation as lower status within the community itself and their individual acceptance within the society may be based on their choice of careers. This appears to have enhanced the degree of reluctance towards succession and prompted a choice of a career pathway towards professions away from the family business.
	Long Working hours (Relationship with parents)	This factor is related to family business in such a way that the long working hours in the business by parents (mainly fathers) have resulted in a lack of paternal bonding between the father and child. The data in this thesis demonstrates that the children have perceived the business as the direct cause of such lack of bonding. This factor has shown the young generations' preference for occupations that enable a better balance between family life and professional life. (This is discussed exclusively and in detail in the 'factors pertaining to education and aspirations')
<b>Table 6.2: Family Business Factors; Source: Author</b>		

of the negative externalities of the small retail business. The findings suggest that this may have led the children not choosing their father's shops as careers.

Some children sampled in this thesis have compared their social status to other members of society like other children in school, other Asian children or peers from college or work place. This seems to have given the impression that although they may be from wealthier households, as most small businesses would

be making enough money for the family to afford a big house and more than one car, sometimes more than two in many families, however, due to the general stereotyping of Asians by the society as a community of shopkeepers appears to have had a significant impact in their outlook towards a career in business, not just in family business but business overall. Shops are classified in the lower-middle of the socio-economic classification, the middle level or the *petit bourgeoisie* (European Socio-Economic Classification). This the children have found as hampering in their ambitions of being accepted or perceived as upper middle class or rich class. Also lack of education among parents plays an important role in the classification. In this context, some of the sampled children have expressed a feeling of being embarrassed by their parents' or family's occupation and the resulting lower social status. In reality this appears to have played out in the form of some of them hiding their parents' occupations, keeping their parents occupations to themselves or deeming this as an unnecessary part of their conversation with others mainly with non-similar occupational backgrounds. They seem to have taken their shop keepers status as a taboo and want to shed this image and wear a new image of a community progressive and educated, one full of doctors, lawyers, accountants or engineers. This reinforces the present understanding demonstrated by the literature that higher education is a tool to promote social mobility (Dale, 2000) and is an important factor in explaining the value attached to education by many ethnic minorities (Modood, 1993; Allen, 1998).

In that sense, the data suggests, the cultural factors such as *Izzat* or *Baradari* is not restricted only to the first or older generation but has trickled down to the second generation and has manifested itself in slightly different ways. By choosing these occupations as their professions, and others taking up jobs at supermarkets, clothing retail, fast food retail and other such everyday low pay low skilled occupations they may have made the society feel that the stereotype was restricted to the older/ immigrant generation and must not be continued or passed on to the young generation.

## 6.5 Cultural Factors

This theme explains the factors such as bi-cultural identity or the factors of status/ prestige within the community or Izzat and Baradari.

### 6.5.1 Izzat and Baradari

Although the respondents interviewed suggested that the factors of Izzat (Prestige or honour) and Baradari (Community or Kinship), have more significance for the older generation, it appears to have a significant impact on the career orientation of the young generation. The findings are in agreement to the literature. The idea of Izzat reinforces the formal hierarchy of relationships within a family (Ballard, 1982). However, Izzat has been so far understood as a matter of male pride (Ballard, 1982) and as a tool to exert control over the female members of the family. Also to loose Izzat or bring shame to the family or community has been confined to the context of women (Gilbert et al, 2004). However, the present findings attempt to broaden the scope of our present understanding by suggesting that Izzat not only pertains to hierarchy of relationships between male and females but also between older and younger generation. According to (Ballard, 1982:5), the maintenance of Izzat depends both upon the family's wealth and its members' conformity with ideal norms of behaviour. The data confirms these understandings that to maintain honour i.e. to attain prestige are important factors and are guiding principles for a majority of older generation Asians. They are also demonstrated as measures of success i.e. to come to a distant land and to transform a life of poverty into a successful living through self-sacrifice and hard work and at the same time preserve their cultural and religious practices was considered to be remarkable.

One of the most remarkable findings that emerged from the data analysis was the motivation among the older generation to preserve their culture and customs and also to propagate them through the second generation and as suggested by the data, being accepted and respected within the community is measured by the successful preservation of their religious and cultural values and

customs. With regards to the second generations' choice of careers, the findings seem to suggest that what the children choose as their professions is only a logical extension of this practice of preservation. The idea of preservation is taken forward through the choice of careers. This coincides with previous findings from the literature that a 'respectable occupation' is highly valued by the Asian communities (Lightbody et al, 1997).

The negative side, as the findings highlighted, is that within the Asian population, the push towards high skilled professional employment such as medicine/ law or accountancy is also because of the high status and the prestige that the profession is expected to bring to the family. This is perceived by the sampled cases to raise the status of the family within the community and more importantly answer questions raised by people back home.

Extra familial kinship groups or Baradari, also appear to exert pressure in the continuation and preservation of religious and cultural values, traditions and customs are therefore seen to have an influence over the choice of careers. (Ballard, 1982) describes Baradari as patrilineal descent groups, however, post migration solidarity among Asians suggests that the concept of Baradari could be extended to the pockets, colonies or localities populated by Asians who know each other, even remotely. Even taking the broader meaning of the term, a kinship group could be perceived as the wider Asian community living in Britain. Within the Baradari there appears a greater pressure to succeed. This is in accordance with the literature suggested by Lightbody et al (1997) that because the community meets regularly, everyone knows how others are doing and therefore there is likely to be a greater pressure to succeed. The data implied that such community gatherings are events where parents are able to know from each other what careers, professions or university courses other peoples' children have been able to get. For those whose children have not been able to get into 'high status' courses or professions parents are even willing to lie about it.

With regards to the children, the measure of success is about whether the children are on the right path; in terms of if they have preserved their cultural and religious values and what professions they are into. Children who are pursuing professions like being a doctor, lawyer, accountant or an engineer are considered to be the ones who have brought a good name to the family and made them proud, not only in the UK but also back home in Asia. So when the children are in school there is a push from their parents to decide which subjects they choose that will lead them to one of these professions and among these, medicine is the preferred choice. This is acknowledged by the research participants' interviews and also regardless of what the child actually wants to do and see as their future occupations.

In summary, the data highlight an overwhelming desire by the first generation parents to preserve their Pakistani culture. This appears to be heavily based on perceptions of honour or prestige i.e. Izzat, pressures from Kinship groups i.e. Baradari and the strict adherence by parents' generation of the Islamic religious values and customs. This appears to have a considerable pressure being put on the second generation to conform through strict religious upbringing, and a clear socialisation of what is good conduct and what is not, what correct roles are, what is not. One of the main reasons for such a need for preservation, as the findings suggest, is the poor education of first generation parents that make them ultra conservative and increasingly in conflict with other ways of seeing the world that the children learn at school and because of their contact with non-Pakistanis. Despite their efforts to shield the second generation from contamination, the second generation do not always conform, and have in many cases led to resentment and antipathy – though many still comply.

This appears to be having an unfavourable bearing on family business succession as children are pushed towards attaining higher education in order to maintain the Izzat of the family within the Baradari. Culture plays an important role in deciding career pathways.

### 6.5.2 Bi-Cultural Identity

Also a result of being socialised in dual cultures of British as well as Asian is the formation of a bi-cultural identity. The literature suggested that the first generation are secure in their cultural and social identities and have made minimal changes to the demands of the host society (Ghuman, 1997). This is due to the different values that the two institutions give emphasis to, collective (i.e. a sense of community or Baradari) at home and individuality advocated by school (Ghuman, 1997). Asian values are characterised by strong Kinship ties, interdependence and a great respect for age and authority; whereas the host society can be characterised by greater socio-economic independence and individualism (Waqil et al, 1981).

The present findings coincide with these previous understandings from the literature. This was clearly the case with the children sampled, most of whom confirmed a need to incorporate in their new bi-cultural identity, individualism and independence. This appears to have reflected in the child yearning or almost demanding to make decisions about their lives, in general, and particularly about careers independently. The data implies that amalgamation of characteristics such as Izzat/ Baradari arranged or forced marriages, formation of identity away from that of core Asian like their parents may have impelled children to move away from Asian beliefs, cultural or traditional practices and as a result potentially inclined them away from family based occupations. Those occupations where there is a day to day family involvement and will render them unable to avoid the influence of the Asian culture that some of them have come to dislike.

Factor Type	Sub-Factors	Description
Cultural Factors	Status/ Prestige (Izzat) & Kinship (Baradari)	These are the factors that appear to have generated a conflicting response towards career orientation and therefore family business succession. The emphasis on Baradari and preservation of Izzat in the community has been significant factors for the first (migrant) generation; however, the data suggests that the second generation has portrayed a degree of

		reluctance in preserving the cultural factors enforced upon by their parents. In this thesis the demonstration of reluctance in choosing family businesses as their career paths is understood to be originating largely from the reluctance demonstrated by the children towards a wholesome preservation of cultural norms and values.
	Bi-Cultural Identity	The second generations' socialisation in the Asian as well as British cultural environment has enabled them to assimilate within themselves both British and Asian values thereby creating a new identity for themselves. This identity also called as bi-cultural identity is unique as it is an amalgamation of portions of both the systems that the children have socialised in. It remains to be tested as to whether the degree of socialisation i.e. a stronger predilection towards Asian or British values has an effect on the choice of career pathways.
<b>Table 6.3: Cultural Factors; Source: Author</b>		

## 6.6 Personal Factors

Personal factors such as gender and order of birth are discussed and the impact that these factors have on the career pathways and succession in family businesses.

### 6.6.1 Gender

Traditional divisions of occupations based on gender exist within the Asian community such as the external world for men and household responsibilities for women; however, this understanding relates more about the first generation rather than the second generation. From the present literature as well from data in this thesis about immigrant family run businesses, it has been reinforced that women have played the part in the competitive advantage provided by family and cultural capital. However, given the choice the case with the second generation



may be different. The data indicates that there is an increased equality of attitude as well as encouragement from parents towards both the male and female genders with regards to the choice of occupations. However, as Lightbody et al (1997) observed, those children who do not do well may fear for marriages for girls and shop for boys. The data from the research supports this view in general. However, the literature is inconclusive about children specifically from family business backgrounds. The literature on Pakistani women's employment demonstrates that Pakistani women have low levels of economic activity at all stages of the life course (Dale et al, 2000). The evidence from the present study did not conform to this observation as children regardless of their gender or educational attainment, felt reluctant to join the family business and the findings did not particularly highlight a different attitude based on the participants' gender. This has implications for succession and continuity of family business. Due to the demonstration of reluctance resulting in a low uptake off family businesses by the second generation in general, small Asian family businesses are deciding to close down or giving out for rent i.e. retaining the ownership of the business but transferring the day to day management. There have been some instances though of children joining the family business but none of them have been women. However, a wider study involving a sample of women who have succeeded their family businesses will be more suitable to properly assess this observation and its impact on succession.

In the career pathways depicted in the theoretical framework, one of the pathways is 'being a housewife or unemployed'. This pathway is portrayed as an involuntary selection. It is based on the indication from the findings about this pathway being selected in the case of the individual not being able to attain any of the other career options, or due to being forced into marriage by parents. The data highlighted the occurrence of arranged marriages or forced marriages, surprisingly also in the case of males. The findings highlight significantly that the issues of forced marriages or arranged marriages as well as concepts of Izzat and Baradari are not only restricted to discussion regarding females, as was presently understood, but also play an important role in the lives of male members of the

society. This coincides with the present literature that the ethnic society is dominated with patriarchal norms of decision making and children being bound to follow within the strict cultural custom of ‘respecting the elders’.

### 6.6.2 Order of Birth

The order of birth may be an indicator of the likelihood of succession in a family business. It was observed within Asian family businesses that the older child, mainly male, feels compelled and pressured into joining the family business. This is related to parental control and being the first born there is a tighter control on the actions of the child by parents and thus he may be made to follow the family guideline. This too is done in the case where the child is not able to enter into high skilled or high prestige professions. So the likelihood of the elder child joining the family business is higher and this has an impact on succession. Further research on single child business families will clarify the impact of these factors on career development and succession.

Factor	Sub-Factors	Description
Personal Factors	Gender	Gender appears to play an important role in the determining career pathways among the second generation. Combined with the level of education attained and level of professional employment; it has been seen that marriage for women might be a forced choice as opposed to low level employment
	Ethnic Origin	Ethnicity or racial background helps in understanding the level of wider integration between the ethnic community and wider British society
	Order of Birth	The first born child is expected to take the family business responsibility. Also there is more parental control over the first born which may result in family business succession.
<b>Table 6.4: Cultural Factors; Source: Author</b>		

## 6.7 Familial or Societal factors

Among all factors effecting career decision making and family business succession, family and particularly parents have a significant influence. The data from the sampled Asian youngsters reflects that there is a direct or indirect pressure of choosing specific careers as has been explained within the cultural factors, such as status or community. This seems to have a considerable impact on the selection of careers particularly at an early adolescent stage so much so that some children have chosen to lie about the choice of occupations to their parents and pretending that they have chosen the high status courses at university while in reality they have not. In doing so the intention is to avoid the confrontation and associated disappointment to their parents. The findings highlight that the influence of parents on the child's occupational choice is immense. This piece of findings coincides with the present literature on career development. White (1967); Brown (2002); Sjorgen (2000); Chope (2005); and Vondracek (1983) all suggested that the role of family in career development is significant. The data also shows that perhaps family business is not a real priority among that Asian community any more even in the older generation. It appears that joining the family business for many may be only a second choice where the child is struggling to find a reasonable employment or is unemployed that parents resort to advising or wishing for children to carry on with the family business or selecting the other pathway of starting their own business with the help of family finance. The pressure put on children is indirectly associated with the parents' desire to conform to the demands of the society with regards to status and prestige wherein in community get-togethers one of the most important parts of the conversation is 'what careers or university courses are your children selected for?' This pressure is seen to be then indirectly passed on to the younger generation and these appear to result in higher expectations and therefore familial societal pressure.

Factor Type	Sub-Factors	Description
Familial and Societal Factors	Parental Influence	Family, and particularly parents, has a significant influence. In the case of Asian youngsters there is a direct or indirect pressure of choosing specific careers such as those described in the theoretical framework as high skilled high status professional employment.
	Society and Peers	The pressure put on children is indirectly associated with the parents' desire to conform to the demands of the society (Baradari) with regards to status and prestige (Izzat) wherein in community get-togethers one of the most important parts of the conversation is 'what is your son/daughter doing?'. This pressure then indirectly is passed on to the younger generation and the resulting high expectations.
<b>Table 6.5: Personal Factors; Source: Author</b>		

## 6.8 Economic Environment

The economic environment has shown to have played an important role in the young generations' decision regarding their careers. Within this theme the findings pertaining to particular sub-factors of market conditions and present economic climate such as recession and economic uncertainty highlight a role in the choice of career and family business succession.

### 6.8.1 Changes in market conditions

The findings as well as the present understanding that has been developed has reflected that changes in specific market conditions has had an unfavourable effect on the outlook of family business members towards future sustainability of

the business at least in its present form. One of these factors is the supermarkets' proliferation in the city centres as compared to having large retail outlets in shopping centres or on the edge of city boundaries. More recently there has been a trend of new expansion strategies adopted by some of these big supermarkets of opening small retail units making it 'convenient' for shoppers to buy products without travelling long distances to the big stores outside. The provision of online shopping and direct to home delivery services has also made it convenient for the common shoppers to save time and effort. Two of the supermarkets that have recently followed this strategy are Tesco and Sainsbury's with their 'Express' and 'Local' stores respectively. In addition to this some smaller retailers like the Scotmid cooperative have also opened stores and some are providing 24 hour services. These are perceived to be having a significant impact on the sales turnover of independent, mainly Asian, businesses. Together Tesco, Sainsbury's, ASDA and Morrison's constitute over 80 per cent of the total sales. It is estimated that nearly 1/3rd of all convenient stores will have closed by 2013 as compared to 2003 (Friends of the Earth, 2003).

Also, changing regulations, mainly in the last decade, regarding opening times, Sunday Opening and selling of alcohol on a Sunday have forced a rethink among the Asian community regarding the long term business feasibility and therefore its future continuity. The data corroborates the present understanding among family business embers both parents as well as children are aware that the Asian NTC type businesses are no longer sustainable. As a result of the above and due to the crowding of the market by other Pakistanis who, as the data suggests, has latched on to the initial and conspicuous success of the early Asian's foray into shop keeping.

Ram (2007) suggested breaking-out as a way of expansion for the Asian ethnic community. The findings highlight that for those who have decided to join the family business or to start their own business, there is a tendency to move away from the traditional sectors of small retail or takeaways. Many have

diversified in to high end restaurants that include brand development, high level marketing and the use of social networking. At the same time some of the sampled young generation proposed their fear that although Indian foods are very popular, the sheer number and the choices that are available to consumers, the frequency of closures is also high. In addition, maintaining a high standard of cooking and service consistently is not easy to attain. This is certainly a condition in particularly the selection of alternative career pathways mainly away from family businesses.

### 6.8.2 Present Economic Conditions

Unfavourable economic environment such as the present recession and economic uncertainty has caused children to re-evaluate their options. Although this has seen some of the sampled young generation to have joined the family business after completing their education because of a lack of opportunities and are awaiting the labour market to improve. Others who are aspiring to start their own businesses are lying low due to the uncertainties in the market and increased financial risks waiting for the recession to pass.

These factors, particularly the market regulations over the past few years have appeared to have not only caused a rethink among the younger generation in terms of career choices, but have also seemed to have caused a change in attitude among the older generation towards their children's careers.

A number of these factors and a lack of long term feasibility in the Asian family run businesses have forced business families to take stock of their current situation and future possibilities. The findings highlight that the family business members have a realisation that the Asian community in Britain has come a long way since most had stepped on British soil for the first time, which was mainly in the years following the Second World War. They came as 'sojourners' – temporary migrant workers with an aim of working as hard as they can and earn as much money as possible and go back and build a new life full of comfort and amidst their

near and dear ones. However, after spending many years toiling and working hard as manual labourers in the foundries and textile mills in Britain, the industrial recession in the 1970s brought about a change in circumstances. Left with no jobs, they had the opportunity of going back to their home countries. However, having lived in the UK for such a long time they had got used to the quality of life that they had experienced here. Some went back but many stayed and brought their families over and settled in Britain permanently. However, left with no jobs and having no skills or qualifications they suffered labour market discrimination. Disappointed and disillusioned, it pushed them to look for self-employment as occupation. Some got absorbed in the transport corporations. For most self-employed people the starting point was either door to door sales or setting up market stalls and later developed into corner shops. They viewed self-employment as a means to protect themselves, their families and culture from a hostile environment. However, for the younger generations, particularly because of a shift in race related attitudes, better integration combined with the above mentioned economic factors such as unfavourable regulatory changes and economic recession, their attitudes towards their children's careers have altered. So a combination of reluctance and a push from parents to look for careers away from the family business has an impact on the selection of career pathways and on family business succession.

Factor Type	Sub-Factors	Description
Factors related to economic environment	Changes in Market factors	A spread of large supermarkets, big companies' expansion strategies by opening smaller stores in areas previously dominated by the 'corner shops', an increased tendency towards online shopping among customers has collectively taken away the 'convenience' factor from the convenience stores thereby deriding them of one of their most significant competitive advantages. This coupled with changes in regulations about opening hours (including Sunday opening), selling of alcohol and so on has been perceived by the community as adverse. This has rendered the evaluation of the future outlook as unfavourable and therefore unsustainable. It appears from the

		present samples' responses that it is not only the second generation that has indicated reluctance in choosing to join the family business but also the first generation that has encouraged the children to consider careers outside of the family business.
	Economic Conditions	Unfavourable economic environment such as the present recession and economic uncertainty has caused children to re-evaluate their career options. Current unfavourable labour market developments have caused high unemployment in general and the data suggests that some of the second generation have joined the family business after completing their education because of a lack of opportunities and are awaiting the labour market to improve. Others who are aspiring to start their own businesses are lying low due to the uncertainties in the market and increased financial risks and are waiting for the current economic conditions to pass.
<b>Table 6.6: Factors related to Economic Environment; Source: Author</b>		

The framework that is developed is intended to provide a broad and generic tool for analysing succession in Asian family businesses. This can then be used to summarise the Asian business scenario and conclusions reached. The various pathways presented are influenced by the process of socialisation or upbringing of children in their environments- home, wider society and the family business.

## 6.9 Development of the Conceptual Framework

The sections below discuss the various factors and its impact on the succession in Asian family businesses. This is the first stage of the development of the conceptual framework and this corresponding stage is shown in Figure 5.1 below and then the various components are discussed subsequently.



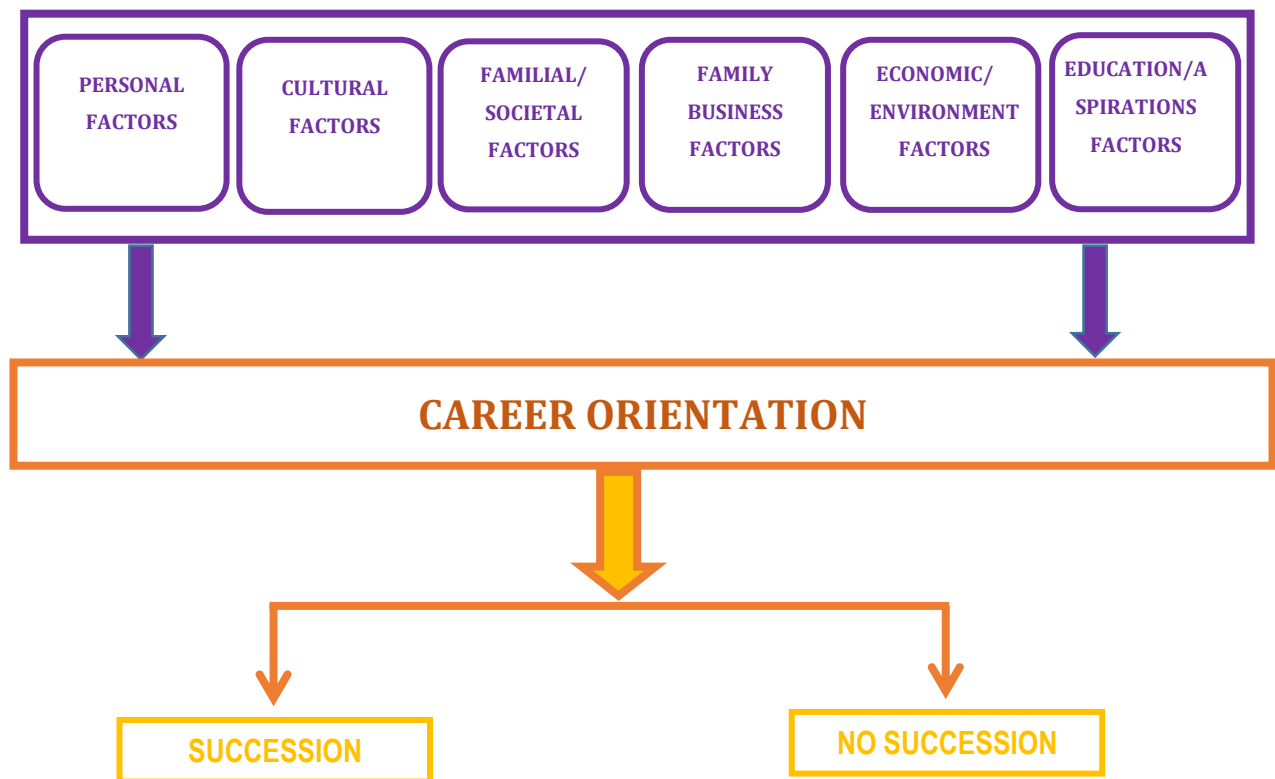


Figure 6.1: Factors of Socialisation and Career Development impacting Career orientation and Succession;

Source: Author

## 6.10 Clusters of factors and their influence on Career Selection and Succession

In the above sections, the various factors of socialisation and career development are explained and their influence on career decision making and family business succession is discussed. The insights developed by triangulating data with literature has helped to understand the process of decision making about the choice of whether the potential heir wants to join their family business. This is important as it significantly enhances our understanding about what are the different alternative career pathways that young generation from Asian family business backgrounds aspire to attain. The above discussion, however, focused only on individual factors within the broader categories that were presented in previous sections. Though important individually, these factors provide a more potent explanation if combined with other factors. These combinations across

factors are presented as **clusters** and provide a deeper explanation of their impact on Asian Family Business Succession. The figure below presents these clusters and its impact on career orientation and subsequently Family Business Succession.

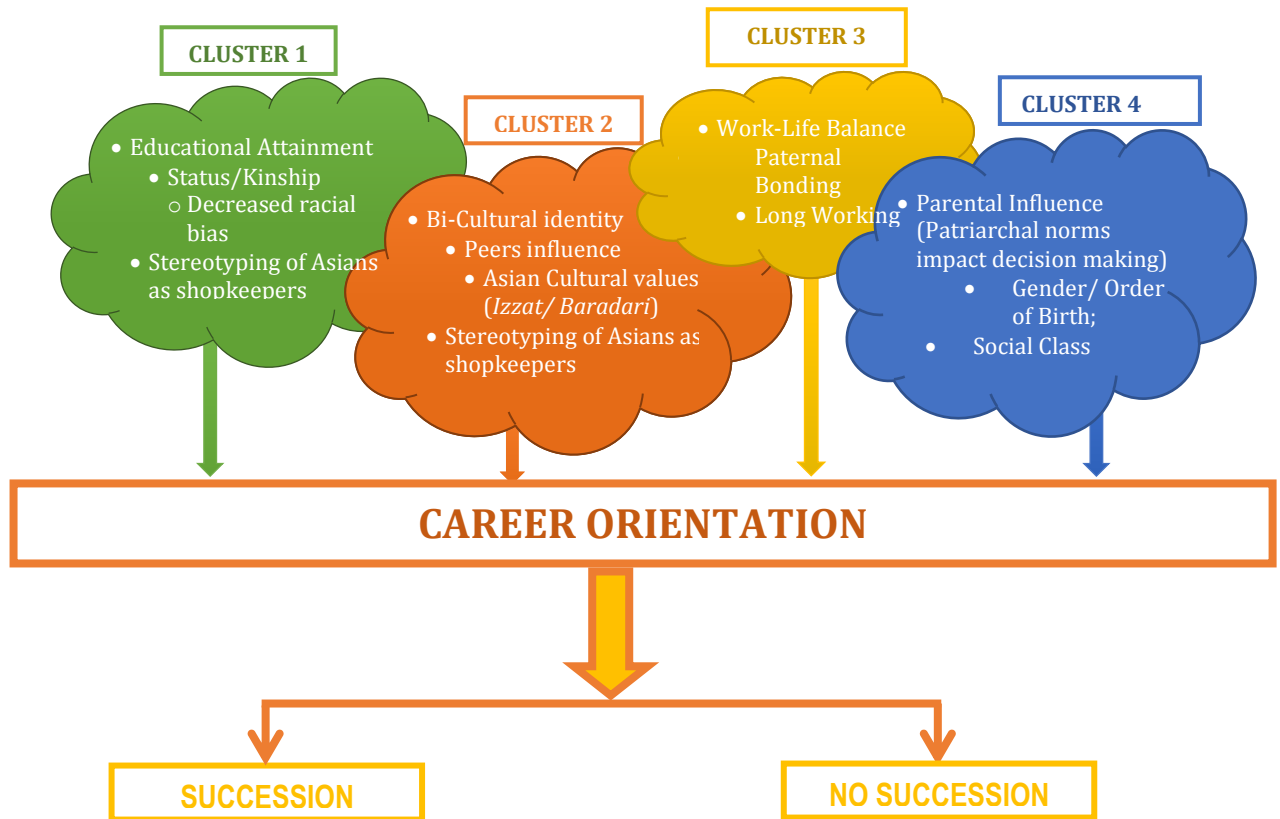


Figure 6.2: Clusters of interactions between Sub-Factors and their impact on Career Orientation and Succession; Source: Author

#### 6.10.1 Cluster 1: Work-Life Balance-Paternal Bonding-Long Working Hours

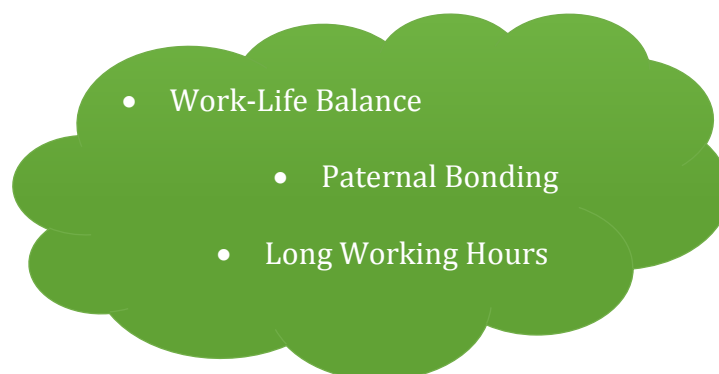


Figure 6.3: Cluster 1 showing interaction between sub-factors of Work-Life Balance-Paternal Bonding-Long Working Hours; Source: Author

This cluster combines two factors i.e. 'factors pertaining to Education/ Aspirations', and 'Family Business Factors' to further explain how these interact in order to provide a clearer understanding of the impact of these factors of socialisation and career development on the potential inheritors' career orientation thereby explaining career selections and family business succession.

Long working hours has long been a hallmark of Asian small businesses, particularly as a result of a combination of the changes in regulations and a strategy to beat the competition from superstores by providing convenience retailing. This was a source of enormous competitive advantage to the Asian businesses and has been part of the success story. However, a negative externality of this competitive strategy was a lack of time spent between the parent, particularly father, and the family, particularly children. This was particularly highlighted, by both male and female respondents, as resulting in a 'weak father-child' bonding. This absence of paternal bonding has a strong influence on the child's assessment of their own future relationship with their own children. This important aspect of the child's socialisation is seen to have effected strongly their career orientation. It has led the child to perceive the family business negatively and created a negative image of not only the family business but of self-employment in general. This is due to the business to be perceived at the centre of and the main cause of this weak bonding.

This negative perception has led to children aspiring to have a better balance between their work life and family life so as to fulfil their responsibilities as parents themselves to fill the void that they have felt in their own lives resulting in selections of non-family business or non-entrepreneurship related career pathways.

#### 6.10.2 Cluster 2: Level of Educational Attainment-Status/Prestige/Kinship-Race-Asian Stereotype



Figure 6.4: Cluster 2 showing interaction between sub-factors of 'Level of Educational Attainment-Status/Prestige/Kinship-Race-Asian Stereotype'; Source: Author

This cluster combines the 'factors of Education/Aspirations'; 'Cultural factors'; 'Personal factors'; and 'Family Business factors' by explaining the interactions between these factors to explain the aspiration to attain higher education pushed by the sub-factors of status/kinship, racial bias and the impact of the Asian stereotype of being shopkeepers. This further explains the unfavourable orientation of the young generation Asians from family business backgrounds towards succession. *Izzat* (Status/Prestige/Honour) and *Baradari* (Kinship), previously understood as constructs that have significance only for the older migrant generations, have an important role to play in the potential inheritors' lives too. Though despised in some measure by the younger generation, they do feel these sub-factors to have an important role to play in their lives as the society they associate with due to their ethnicity is run by this important code of practice. This code of practice influences their lives with regards not only to career choices but also their religious inclinations, marriage decisions and other social and cultural associations greatly influencing how they are 'seen' within the society.

In addition, a generally reduced racial bias has seen a greater integration of the younger generation in the educational and labour market spheres. Combined this with their own increased language and communication skills have allowed for a greater interaction between communities. At the same time, the above sub-factors combined with a generally negative social perception due to the stereotyping of Asians as ‘shopkeepers’ has acted as a repellent towards family businesses. This has led to youngsters acting to shed this image by shunning the family business as their occupations.

However, this cluster does not completely show a lack of inclination towards joining the family business and shows a dual orientation i.e. may join or may not join the family business. This could be based on the degree of influence that these sub-factors have on their decision making. The measure of the impact of these factors is beyond the scope of this thesis though could be researched further to provide more concrete basis of succession related decision making among potential inheritors.

#### 6.10.3 Cluster 3: Bi-Cultural identity-Peers influence-Status/Kinship-Asian Stereotype

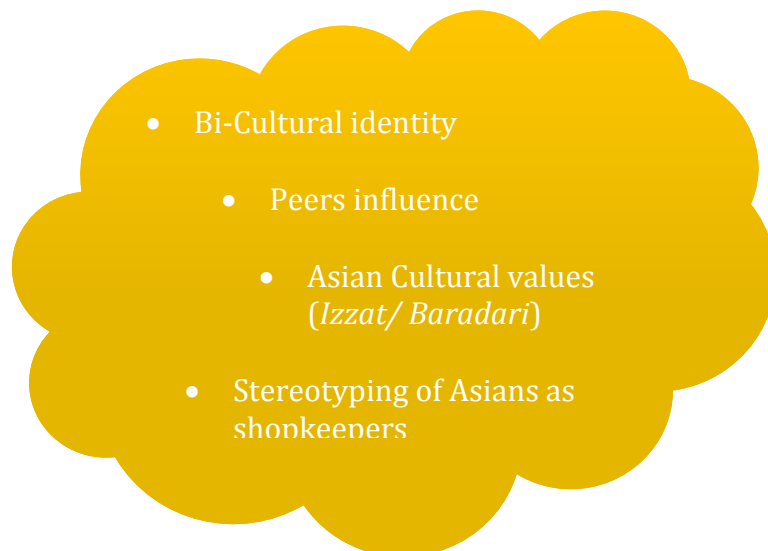


Figure 6.5: Cluster 3 showing interaction between sub-factors of ‘Bi-Cultural identity-Peers influence-Status/Kinship-Asian Stereotype’; Source: Author

This cluster represents a combination of 'cultural factors' and 'family business factors' and explains the impact of the development of a unique self-identity among the potential inheritors which influences their career orientation and selection of pathways leading to succession or choosing other occupations. This could lead to the development of either a closed, bounded or inwards orientation or an open or outwards orientation. The formation of a bi-cultural identity has been explained in detail in the preceding discussions and emphasised the dual socialisation effect from the agents of Asian culture on one hand and externally from the British culture. British Asian youngsters often find themselves at the intersection of the two cultures. The border between the two cultures is not rigid but porous and the youngsters make transitions between the two domains, the process termed as 'situational ethnicity' by scholars. This flexibility allows them to adopt an appropriate identity depending on where they are and who they are interacting with.

This identity is also influenced by dominant Asian values of status and prestige which has been part of their socialisation process and again the degree of influence of these values may help to gain further and deeper insights into how these cultural aspects help determine whether they will join the family business or not.

Depending on the nature of these interactions it is perhaps possible to understand how high the barriers are and that may help to determine the favourability towards a particular pathway selection. There has been no research conducted on the degree of 'Asian-ness' or degree of 'British-ness' displayed in a persons' identity. A degree or a measure of the mix of ethnicity may help to understand an individual's inclination towards specific career pathways and therefore may help to predict the likelihood of joining the family business.

#### 6.10.4 Cluster 4: Parental Influence-Gender-Order of Birth-Social Class

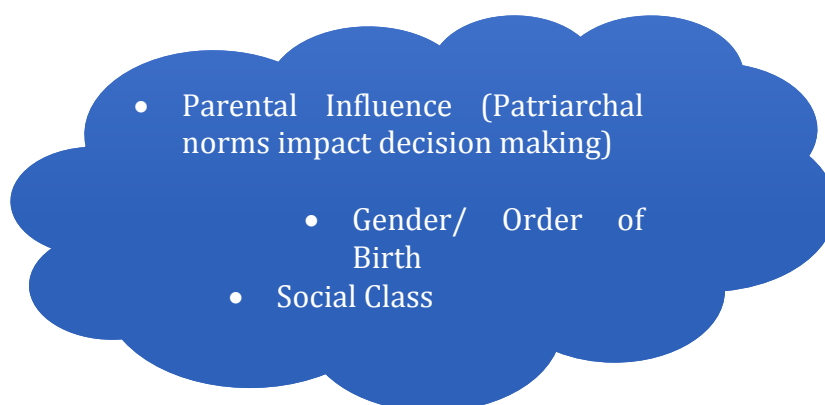


Figure 6.6: Cluster 4 showing interaction between sub-factors of 'Parental Influence-Gender-Order of Birth-Social class'; Source: Author

This final cluster portrays the interactions between sub-factors from 'familial', 'personal' and 'family business' factors. Even though research on career development suggests that an individuals' career selection is an outcome of a compromise between opportunity and ability, in the Asian context, in which Asian ethnic society is dominated with patriarchal norms of decision making and children being bound to follow within the strict cultural custom of 'respecting the elders'. These have a strong influence on the choice of careers and it is often the parents who decide, like other matters, which careers to choose. These decisions are often taken at a young age and are influenced by the concepts of Izzat and Baradari as well as a related concept of socio-economic class. Being shopkeepers placed them in a set category without any possibilities of interacting with other social classes, particularly those from professional backgrounds such as doctors, lawyers, accountants, professions regarded highly within the Asian community. Parents having realised that they have done the hard work by establishing themselves in a perceived hostile society, however, also realising the sacrifices made such as working long hours, working hard and therefore not being able to create any bonds with their children. Parents have therefore pushed children into higher education and chose professions or help them to start their own new ventures if they are not academically inclined. For those children who do not choose either of these pathways, joining the family business, undertaking low paid

low skilled employment or being unemployed may be the only pathways they could select.

### 6.11 Final Conceptual Framework

This section presents the next stage of the development of the conceptual framework and shows the alternative career pathways that the young generation family business member or the potential inheritor can undertake. Figure 5.6 below shows the final developed conceptual framework. This framework particularly highlights the career pathways and shows the dynamic nature of the career selection process by showing the future potential transitions.

Career selections, as supported by findings and literature, is an ongoing process and are about finding the best fit between ability and opportunity. These could be life-long processes in which the individual continually develops. The above figure shows the future career transitions that may happen between the five selected broad choices. It has been seen that a few young Asians have joined their family businesses or started their own entrepreneurial ventures after working as professionals for a few years. Similarly, some of those who joined family businesses have left the business to start their own new ventures, sometimes due to dissatisfaction, family conflicts, forced closure of business, simply the family business being non-profitable.

So, in those family businesses where succession has not undertaken, does it mean that these are unsuccessful? In certain cases, it may not be feasible to continue the business, as succession may happen due to the influence of certain factors discussed in the previous sections. However, the long term continuity may be compromised as the children who had joined the business out of pressure or familial or societal expectations or perhaps due to a lack of opportunities in the labour market may be later affected by other factors such as improving labour market conditions, a lack of parental control as they grow older, a rejection of



societal or kinship values may result in a complete loss of interest in the family business. So although succession is an important event in the life cycle of the family business, it is understood that it is the long term entrepreneurial continuity and the longevity of family's prosperity which are of prime importance. Much of this relates to the original aims of a family starting a business in the first place. The findings from the last part of the previous chapter suggested that although many of the second generation children are not choosing joining the family business as their career paths, they still have entrepreneurial aspirations and intend to start their own business at an appropriate time in the future. They appear to have been motivated by the skills that they have learnt from the prior experience in working in a successful business environment i.e. their own family businesses. The figure below lists the factors that emerged within this factor of trans-generational continuity.

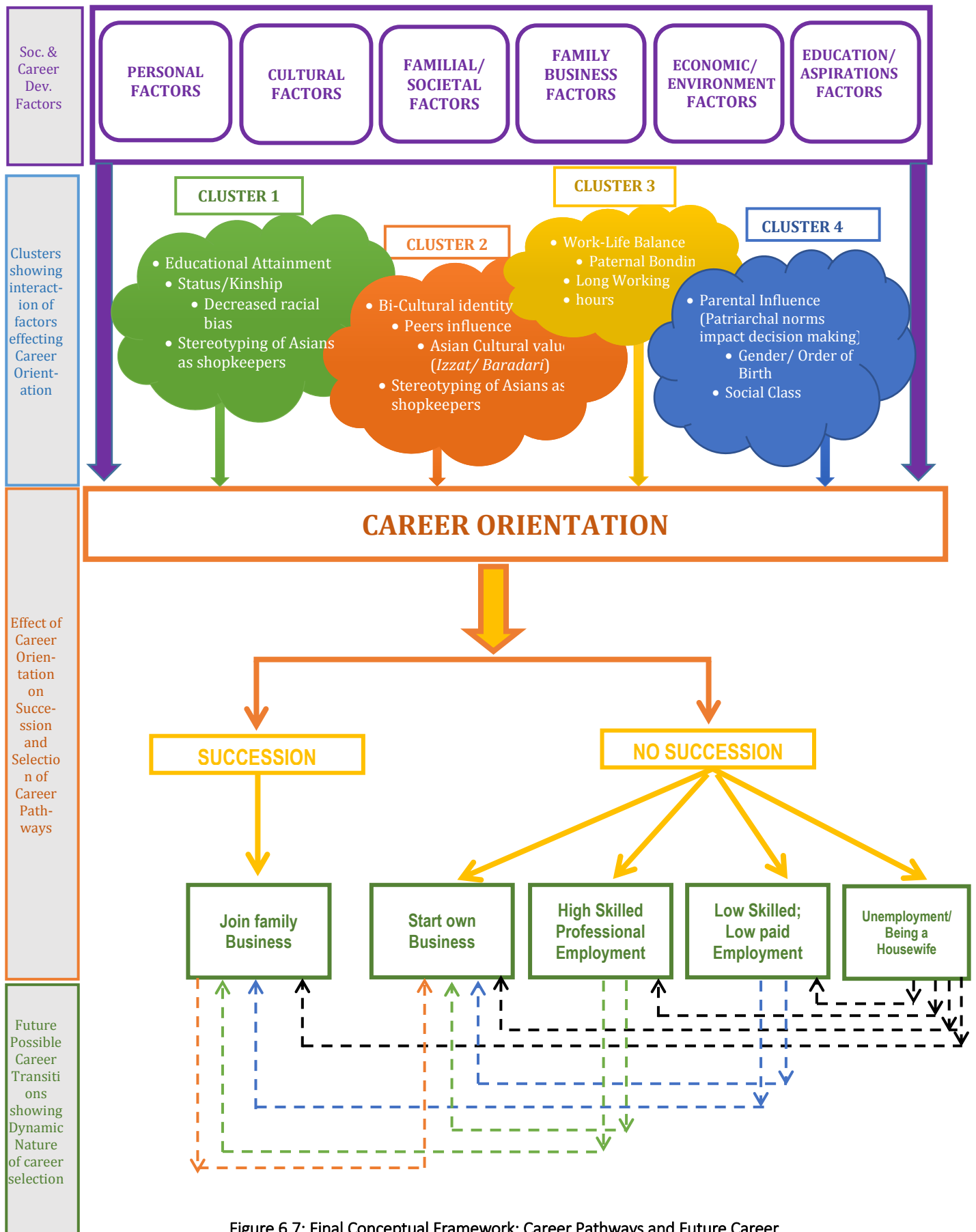


Figure 6.7: Final Conceptual Framework: Career Pathways and Future Career Transitions; Source: Author

So it appears that for the young generation it is more important that business continuity, the family's security and prosperity are paramount. This in a sense reiterates the idea of continuity strived for by the first generation too and the family business was a vehicle to propagate this sense of continuity. The choice of occupations, then, is merely understood as an extension of the same idea and the most appropriate pathway is chosen based on the current circumstances for each generation. For the first generation the most appropriate and feasible pathway was self-employment and the data suggests that for the second generation there are a number of alternative pathways that they can select. Many of the sampled second generation are choosing alternative career paths away from the family business. However, the findings also suggest that the children are not averse to an entrepreneurial career and aspire to start their own business in the future.

## 6.12 Conclusion

This section sums up the discussion and analysis in relation to the literature reviewed and emergent themes from findings leading to the emergence of a new conceptual framework. The conceptual framework presents the development as discussed in previous sections i.e. factors of socialisation and career development as well as interactions between sub-factors and their impact on an individual's career orientation. This then shows the subsequent influence on Family Business Succession as a decision based on how the potential inheritor is oriented.

This research was partly initiated with the initial observations of a phenomenon of 'reluctance' among young generation of Asian family business members towards joining their family businesses. Further literature suggested an intriguing comparison. The broader understanding of Asian entrepreneurship has been one of success from a context of adversity and reflected the positive contributions that the business have made to the ethnic community as well as the wider British society. This was reflected in the following observation as the ethnic enterprise and ethnic entrepreneur was described as the 'Ultimate embodiment of

Entrepreneurial Success', (Mansurel et al, 2004). This school takes into consideration the success achieved by the Entrepreneurs of South Asian ethnicity battling the odds of discrimination in the labour market combined with their own deficiencies in key skills like language and education. However, there was also an alternative understanding of the same phenomenon of ethnic entrepreneurship in Britain lead by McEvoy et al (1982), that took a completely opposite view stating, 'many South Asian businesses were a waste of capital, talent and energy, at best a survival mechanism'.

The findings from responses of the sampled population, particularly from the second generation, have highlighted the possible reasons for this varied understanding and also perhaps indicate the attitudes of the youngsters towards their family businesses. This present understanding from the literature about the phenomenon of ethnic entrepreneurship can be understood as a reflection of conflict between generations. The interpretation of the entrepreneurial engagement by the first generation was seen by themselves as well as by the society as beneficial as that was portrayed as a reflection of overcoming the structural barriers encountered by the migrant first generation. The phenomenon also saw them taking over businesses that the native white ethnic population did not want to pursue. This was similar to the factory labour positions occupied by Asian migrants post WW2, as the native white populations were upwardly mobile and vacated those manual and unskilled vacancies.

However, in order to make these new businesses a success they needed to employ strategies that would negate the low returns that were being available from the convenient shops. This saw those employing family or other co-ethnic labour from the extra familial kinship groups and working long hours in the shop. While hard work and self-sacrifice were dominant characteristics of the first generation, this also meant devoting most of their time to the business.

In the case of the second generation born and brought up in Britain, and their subsequent socialisation in the wider British society, they appear to be more inclined towards a better work-life balance and the family business was seen to be an impediment towards an aspiration of a better quality of life. In this thesis it is asserted that the view proposed by McEvoy et al (1982), is more appropriate towards explaining the young generations' attitudes towards their family businesses in the sense that many no longer see joining the family business as a viable career option.

The factors above have highlighted the findings from the data and compared and contrasted this with the present and emergent understanding as was found in the literature pertaining to socialisation, career development and family business succession. It was found that while some of the factors such as level of educational attainment, or changes in market conditions may on their own are able to explain the young generations' specific career orientations, combining two or more factors might be able to generate a detailed and more comprehensive understanding of the decision making regarding specific pathways. Parental pressure, long working hours, and cultural factors such as *Izzat*, *Baradari* and the formation of a bi-cultural identity are all factors when combined together generate a clearer explanation of the career decision making process among the second generation. Similarly factors pertaining to a lack of paternal bonding, work-life balance, aspirations for a high quality of life are factors when combined together better explain the reluctant attitude among the second generation or what was called the phenomenon of 'reluctance'.

Overall the findings highlight an overwhelming desire among the second generation not to conform to the norms of socialisation prevalent in the Asian society such as strict religious upbringing, especially among women, as these are predominantly seen as dominated by cultural perspectives of *Izzat* and *Baradari* rather than guided by religion itself. The data has reflected a continuous pressure being put due to expectations from family and extra familial kinship groups like

community and society. The data also highlighted an overwhelming desire by the first generation parents to preserve their Pakistani culture. This appears to be heavily based on perceptions of honour or prestige i.e. *Izzat*, pressures from Kinship groups i.e. *Baradari* and the strict adherence by parents' generation of the Islamic religious values and customs. This also appears to have a considerable pressure being put on the second generation to conform through strict religious upbringing, and a clear socialisation of an expectation of inculcation of acceptable behaviour such as respecting the elders and being obedient, working hard in the family shops, being a close knit community with minimal interaction with the wider society. This set of expectations arising out of socialisation in the predominantly Asian family and society and combined with the socialisation within the wider British society at school and other places has helped the formation of a new and unique identity among the second generation called as the bi-cultural identity. The data reflects this process of formation of this new identity. Part of the process, as the findings suggest, is the rejection of some of these cultural norms and incorporating what Modood (1997) and others have called the 'best of both worlds'. This rejection of certain cultural values and customs is not only understood as critical in forming of the bi-cultural British Asian identity but it is understood in the broader context of career orientation. As Dhaliwal (2004) had observed that within the Asian family business scenario, the family and business were inter-woven with religion and cultural beliefs. It is the rejection by the second generation of latter part of the matrix i.e. the cultural beliefs highlights an extension of that rejection of the family occupation as well as that might be seen as impeding on the new set of cultural values advocated by the bi-cultural identity.

The next and final chapter concludes this thesis and presents contributions that this thesis makes at all levels i.e. theoretical contribution, empirical contribution as well as contribution to policy. The chapter also evaluates the study to understand the credibility and trustworthiness of the findings and evaluates the limitations. It concludes by making recommendations for future research.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 7.1 Introduction

The aim of this research, was to enhance the understanding of the phenomenon of succession among Asian family businesses in Scotland. This was aimed at developing an understanding from the potential inheritors' point of view by understanding the process of socialisation and career development. The aim was to be fulfilled by answering the research questions about what are the various factors of socialisation and career development as well as how they interact in order to influence the career orientation of individuals from family businesses. This significantly enhances our understanding about the basis for succession related decision making among the younger generation and shows the various career pathways that this orientation can lead to.

This thesis also makes a significant empirical contribution. It provided data for the first time on the potential inheritors' perspective from Asian family businesses and also that it explored the socialisation and career development process and its impact on family business succession.

An important finding of this research is that succession is not just a decision that impacts the family firm but it also has a significant impact on the successor's future life and his/ her view of life as well. This has been overlooked in previous research and the view of the founder or incumbent owner has been the sole basis of understanding family business succession and that it is the future of the firm and the family as a whole that has been the centre of succession research. This research contrasts this approach by showing that succession, for the successor, is broadly about their career, their future and significantly therefore they view succession as an outcome of their career development process.

This study should be seen as an initial effort to explore the role of socialisation and career development in determining the career selections and its impact on Asian family business succession. In undertaking this research, the thesis integrated theories from socialisation and career development along with succession. This integration was deemed important in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of the process of succession decision-making through an understanding of the interaction of various factors of socialisation and career development. The contribution is assessed on the basis of the interaction between these factors and the increased applicability it provides through combining the theories of socialisation and career development in order to better understand the succession and career related behaviour of potential inheritors from Asian family business firms.

This final chapter is aimed to conclude the research activity by highlighting the main contributions of this PhD research to the field of study and the various bodies of literature. This is done by highlighting the theoretical contributions, the methodological contributions and also recommendations to policy. This chapter also evaluates the study in terms of generalisability, data validation and also evaluates the limitations of the study. The main aims and objectives of the study are revisited and finally directions for future research are suggested.

The empirical contributions are also highlighted such as understanding the succession from the second generation's perspective and using life history or narrative biography as a research method and using multiple sources for data gathering i.e. from 1st generation, 2nd generation and key informants as opposed to only the second generation.

The section on recommendations for future research focuses on the policy implications mainly about entrepreneurship development and about knowledge utilisation across communities. It highlights the need for government policy to be sensitive to specific ethnic needs. It also highlights the need for a policy based on



inclusion rather than secluding communities based on race keeping in line with the idea of a multi-cultural Britain.

The chapter briefly evaluates the overall study and specifically revisits the aims and objectives and the research questions and looks at issues of validity and reliability of the findings and the explanations generated and an evaluation of methodology used.

## 7.2 Theoretical contributions

This research aims to contribute to theory in a number of ways. The main contributions can be categorised as contributing to both key bodies of literature as well as the overall understanding of the phenomenon under study. The first is the **contribution to the understanding of the phenomenon of Asian family business succession**. The findings contribute by enhancing our present albeit limited understanding of the family business succession phenomenon. The second contribution is pertaining to the **two bodies of literature made use from the literature on socialisation and career development**. The third, is the conceptual framework itself which greatly enriches and augments our understanding of **the process of career selection influenced by the process of socialisation from a multiple factor perspective**. The fourth contribution is the **applicability of the theoretical framework to the Asian Family Business context**. The fifth contribution is to the understanding of **the role of the potential inheritor in the succession process and trans-generational continuity**. And finally the **understanding of the process of continued career pathways selection influenced by factors of socialisation**.

### 7.2.1 Contribution to the understanding of the phenomenon of Ethnic Family Business Succession

This study identified a research gap in the literature relating to succession Birley (1986 & 2002) and particularly in Ethnic Family Business Succession (Jhanjua-Jivraj, 2002). Specifically it was emphasised that the higher than average rate of self-employment noticed in this community could be a transient phenomenon (Bachkaniwala et al., 1998) due to a reluctance towards succession from the younger generation. The present understanding, as was encapsulated by Birley (1986), was that Family business succession has been understood from the founder's perspective or at best from the firm's perspective as to what the founder/ present generation owner-manager of the family business wants his children to do or what, he thinks, is best for the future of the firm. Another prevalent assumption within family businesses is that succession was a foregone conclusion as Peter Rosa demonstrated, that people with self-employed parents were more likely to become self-employed than those with parents in employment (Rosa, 1989). The present thesis challenged these above assumptions and understandings and the study contributes theoretically by addressing these gap. Combining this with the changing scenario in the Asian family business environment, this research is the first to address the challenge of succession for Asian family businesses from the potential inheritors' perspective.

### 7.2.2 Contribution to literature on Socialisation and Career Development - Applicability to Succession Research

The present understanding was insufficient to explain the phenomenon of succession and more importantly the phenomenon of 'reluctance' towards succession among the Asian youth. It was proposed that the view of the successor should be important in understanding succession (Birley, 1986 & 2002) and that in order to understand the potential successors' perspective their socialisation i.e. the

acquired behaviour among individuals in a society (Thirumalai, 1988) must be understood (Rosa & Balunywa, 2008; Birley, 2002). Also succession, for a young generation from family business, was argued as a factor that plays an important role in their career decision making. In order to make informed choices about their futures, could-be heirs need to assess their goals for their careers (Rogal, 1989; Zellweger et al, 2011).

Further literature reviews on these domains highlighted that just like socialisation is a process that an individual goes through from childhood to early adulthood or even through one's lifetime (Grusec & Hastings, 2007; Maccoby, 2007), choosing occupational roles, as Maccoby (2007) suggested, is also influenced by socialisation as the socialisation process includes training or preparing individuals for roles in specific occupations. Similar to the process of socialisation, career development was also described as spread out over a number of years (Ginzberg et al, 1951). Also the family is identified as the most important agent of socialisation in the sense that family's values and beliefs effect decisions about career (Rogal, 1989). In addition to that findings confirmed that just as parents, peers, culture, gender, and race are the important social systems that influence socialisation of an individual, similarly research has highlighted that family, race, culture, society, gender and age are, among other factors, important in influencing the development of one's career. Hence it was proposed that succession be understood from the potential inheritors' perspective and within the context of socialisation and career development.

By combining socialisation and career development to understand succession, this study was able to enhance the succession literature by discussing the interaction among various factors of socialisation and career development. This helped to better explain the research questions and to understand the process of succession related decision making by the potential inheritor.

### 7.2.3 Integration of the three concepts of socialisation, career development and succession-The conceptual framework

The main contribution of this thesis is the development of the theoretical framework that explains the socialisation and career development effects on career orientation and how that may influence the selection of career pathways. The framework highlights the various factors of socialisation and career development and the influence of these on the career decision making of children from family businesses thereby effecting succession in family firms. The final theoretical framework was developed through empirical evidence from an initial framework that was conceptualised from the literature.

Although within the succession literature, particularly those that recommended understanding succession from the potential heirs' perspective, influences on career decision making as well as their socialisation in a family business environment was mainly separately recommended, these three domains of research were never brought together in such a way as has been done in this thesis. The initial theoretical stance was based on family business succession from the young generation's perspective. However, this was deemed insufficient to fully understand the succession process and therefore the other concepts of socialisation and career orientation were incorporated thereby leading to the development of the initial conceptual framework that uniquely brought together the three different concepts.

### 7.2.4 Applicability of the Theoretical Framework to the Research Context

This research was conducted in the specific context of Asian small and micro family businesses in Scotland. First of all it was realised that Asian family businesses are in a phase of transition where many of them are facing the situation of closure due to known factors such as changes in market conditions and economic environment. Jones & Ram (2003) further suggested that the Asian

entrepreneurial trend is subject to reversal. This was also because of the phenomenon of 'reluctance' or a lack of willingness demonstrated by the second generation as also observed first hand by the researcher himself. One of the unique characteristics that were identified about the second generation was their socialisation in a dual culture environment i.e. Asian at home and British outside leading to the supposed development of the bi-cultural identity. There were other factors that influenced their outlook in general such as race, their ethnic origin, gender, the attitude of the wider society towards them and their own perceptions regarding the same. It was identified that among the Asian youngsters born and brought up in Britain, the agents of socialisation were not only similar to the general agents of socialisation but the effects were distinguished to be more profound. In addition to this the explored literature highlighted that education and choice of career were found to be most significant as a professional education or career would be perceived within the community as more respectable (Lightbody et al, 1997). This was starkly similar to the theoretical understanding developed regarding socialisation and career choices and its effect on family business succession. This underlined the need for applying the framework to the Asian small family business context.

The dominating explanation that emerged regarding this reluctance to choose the particular career pathway of joining the family business was based on the partial rejection of Asian cultural values that the first or migrant generation was so keen on preserving. This was brought about mainly due to the development of the bi-cultural identity, the formation of a weak parent-child bond due to parents (mainly father) spending long working hours in the business and a strict religious upbringing that advocated discouraging inter-mixing or socialising with members of the native white population. From the point of view of careers, due to some of the factors highlighted above such as economic environment or socio-economic status of the business joining the family business is no longer seen as a viable career option.

In the case of the second generation born and brought up in Britain, and subsequently undergone a process of socialisation in the wider British society, they appear to be more orientated towards a better work-life balance, a higher quality of life, incorporate values that promote independence and individuality and therefore the family business was seen to be an impediment towards an aspiration of a better quality of life explaining the attitude of 'reluctance' towards joining the family business.

#### 7.2.5 The role of the Potential Inheritor and Trans-generational Continuity

This study contributes by researching the phenomenon from the unique perspective of the potential successor. The view of the successor was identified to be important in understanding succession (Birley, 1986 & 2002) and that in order to understand the potential successors' perspective their socialisation i.e. the acquired behaviour among individuals in a society was suggested to be understood (Rosa & Balunywa, 2008; Birley, 2002; García-Álvarez et al, 2002). Also succession, for a young generation from family business, was argued as a factor that plays an important role in their career decision making (Zellweger et al, 2011; Rogal, 1989) adding further that in order to make informed choices about their futures, could-be heirs need to assess their goals for their careers.

#### 7.2.6 The process of Career Selection influenced by factors of Socialisation

The framework not only provides an understanding of a static selection process but also contributes by demonstrating a dynamic process of ongoing transitions in career pathways as is shown in the 4<sup>th</sup> stage of the theoretical framework. These future possible pathways are also shown to be influenced by forces of socialisation and career development in which a further re-assessment of their social situations, their abilities and skills and labour market opportunities is being undertaken. This is a unique contribution as first of all career pathways selection has not been explored at all particularly in the context of family business

succession research. Additionally a dynamic understanding of ongoing transitions has also never been explored thereby making these contributions unique.

### 7.3 Empirical Contributions

This section highlights the empirical contributions of this research. It outlines the empirical gap due to the small number of existing text and highlights the need to understand succession from the second generations' perspective. Also the present research supports this fresh perspective and justifies employing using life history and in-depth interviewing as well as using multiple sources of data gathering.

#### 7.3.1 Second generation perspective

As mentioned above this research proposed to understand family business succession from the second generations' perspective. This was deemed important as Birley (1986) pointed out that most research was conducted from the perspective of the founder or incumbent owner. Although this was useful, understanding succession from the inheritors' perspective would bring an added dimension to the overall understanding regarding succession and help to develop a more comprehensive and a renewed understanding from the fresh insights obtained. As Collins (2011) mentioned that using the perspective of the inheritor is important as this can help us to understand that there are reasons other than the founder's anxieties that can cause succession to fail. He further highlighted that the needs, motivation and abilities of the successor are equally important in determining whether or not there will be an effective succession.

#### 7.3.2 Using life history approach for data gathering

This research uses life history approach to understand the young generations' experiences regarding socialisation and career development. First of

all as Collins (2011) observed that much of the studies on family business succession was based on causal observations rather than well designed empirical studies. Brokhaus (2004) suggested that this was due to a lack of secondary data sources.

Literature suggested that life history experiences have an impact on vocational behaviour (Snell et al, 1994). It was also identified that it is important to include both contextual variables and aspects of individuality in order to understand vocational development, both these could be understood using a biographical narrative of the individual provided by him or herself. Vondracek et al (1986) noted the need to focus on the process of career development. Borrow (1966) suggested that the vocational development process begins in early childhood because vocationally relevant behaviour of pre-employed youth is exhibited at that time. Similar to socialisation this needed understanding of the influences of factors on the development process not only at the time when the informant made the decision regarding career but also the background of development of the attitudes and beliefs about career that led him or her to make decision on that basis.

In addition to the use of life history approach to data gathering, this research also uses multiple data sources. It not only interviewed the second generation but also some first generation and key informants (community insiders), in order to develop a wholesome understanding of the phenomenon of family business succession.

#### **7.4 Implications for policy**

It is a well-established view that there is a relationship between migration and self-employment. This is particularly true in migration from poorer countries to more prosperous economic countries such as to United States, Great Britain and other European nations. While reasons for migration are plenty, many of the



migrants who take to self-employment as their occupation have had a period of socio-economic uncertainty before they decide to foray into self-employment. The reasons attributed to their success are mainly described as ethnic or diaspora solidarity, pooled capital, cheap flexible labour, mainly similar ethnicity members helping each other due to a shared ethno-cultural identity (Ram & Jones, 2007; Light and Bonacich, 1988). These benefits play out, as Pnina Werbner, from her work on Pakistani migrant community in Manchester highlighted, in the forms of insider networks from members of same kinship groups, family values of sticking with each other and contributing to family by helping in the family business and religious ethos demonstrated through self-sacrifice, thrift and industriousness (Werbner, 1980).

#### 7.4.1 Ethnic minority business policy (salient features)

The 1980s saw a rapid growth of ethnic enterprises mainly in the retail trade like corner shops. Also at the same time a number of initiatives were being introduced by promoting self-employment as a means to offset social seclusion among the minority ethnic communities including Afro-Caribbean communities particularly after the Brixton disturbances in 1981 and proposed by a report by Lord Scarman (as reported in Ram & Jones, 2007).

The scope of policy towards ethnic minority businesses (EMBs) has been restricted mainly to the promotion of self-employment and providing business support services so as to tackle disadvantages (Ram & Jones, 2007).

However, they also argue that the objectives of these initiatives are confusing as whether they are toward achieving social objectives than the goals of employment generation and business competitiveness.

While ethnic minority, mainly Asian, enterprises do demonstrate a higher level of solidarity and a sharing culture, a review of policy initiatives by Ram &

Jones, (2007); Deakins et al, (2003) highlight the barriers faced by EMBs in general such as barriers to obtaining credit from high street banks. As Deakins et al (2008) had highlighted that accessing finance is difficult for SMEs in general and this was particularly difficult for the Ethnic minority. There was no data available to see if the situation was any favourable for the young Asian generation. The lack of access to financial capital is considered to be the most consistent handicap and as has been suggested it far outweighs the advantages derived from ethnic social capital as mentioned previously (Ram & Jones, 2007).

Some of the criticisms of this lack of access were also laid towards the minority business community as well because of their inward orientation and to solve matters internally by the traditional ways of sharing of cultural and social capital. However, it is important that policy initiatives be sensitive towards the specific ethnic needs. It may be perhaps that religious barriers in dealing with interest on loans could be a cause, or may be language a Dhaliwal (2003) had reported ethnic minority business owners dealing with co-ethnic professionals because they spoke the same language and therefore felt comfortable.

#### 7.4.2 New Developments

However, there has been positive policy initiatives as Deakins et al (2003) noted that the Business support system was being restructured in such a way as to include and extend support to ethnic minorities. This thesis supports this orientation. They had also previously indicated that there have been instances, although not in huge numbers, of ethnic businesses in lucrative sectors such as IT, software, health care, broadcasting, graphic design, financial services and fashion designing clearly indicating that the focus is on quality rather than quantity.

### 7.4.3 From necessity entrepreneurship to opportunity entrepreneurship

As mentioned above there is evidence of EMBs moving from traditional low margin sectors to more lucrative and better rewarded sectors. This research supports this directing of policy in general about focusing on the utilisation of higher levels of human capital in terms of higher skills and qualifications and experiences mainly by the new generation helping in better business practices.

However, it is also recommended that policy should be keeping abreast with the demographic alterations occurring within particularly Asian business community. As this research highlighted the phenomenon of 'reluctance' among young generation Asian youngsters, it is advocated that policy development be sensitive to these attitudes of youngsters as this poses new challenges in the provision of business support.

It has been previously understood that most young generation are looking at professional employment as their career option as a means to attain upward mobility. Also it has been suggested about those who do decide to enter self-employment are entering because of positive motivation as opposed to motivated by necessity as in the case of the older generation. However, policy needs to be aware of the fallacy as suggested by this present research that those who do not enter high skilled professional employment may still be forced to join the family business i.e. the family run shop or start-up businesses that exist on the boundaries of marginality.

As Deakins et al (2005) had suggested in their national scoping study in Scotland that demographic trends tend towards an ageing population in Scotland, and suggested that younger members must participate in the entrepreneurial activity. Though this research highlights that many young generation are unwilling to do so, it has come forward that there are instances of members of second generation actually coming back into self-employment. However, it will be

important that they achieve their potential by utilising the business skills that they have learnt by experiencing running their family businesses. Policy has to take into account that the likelihood of success among this exclusive population with entrepreneurial skills already possessed may be higher than the rest of the population merely on the basis of their experience of being socialised in an entrepreneurial environment.

Finally, as Ram and Jones, 2007 rightly suggested that policy must follow research and pay close attention to it, it is recommended that policy must be open to incorporating the challenges as may occur due to the transition phase that the Asian businesses are going through. This research highlights that there is a greater need to direct policy based on these changes.

## 7.5 Evaluation of Study

This section evaluates the study, mainly the quality of the study and the claims that it makes regarding validity and reliability. It starts by revisiting the research questions and finally presents the limitations of this study.

The questions that guided the research are:

- What socialisation processes does the young generation South Asian from family business backgrounds undergo?
- What is the effect of Socialisation on career outcomes among second generation British Asians of family business background?
- What is the effect of socialisation and career orientation on the Family Business Succession?

This research applied the interpretive paradigm and a qualitative methodology to answer these questions. The methods used were life history approach and in-depth personal interviewing.

### 7.5.1 Triangulation

Triangulation via methods as well as triangulation via data sources was achieved. Triangulation involves using different methods or data sources i.e. using a wide range of informants (Shenton, 2004). This was done with the objective of verifying individual viewpoints and experiences as against others and ultimately a rich picture or behaviours was constructed based on the contributions of a wide range of people. Also this helped to satisfy the criteria of validity and reliability of research particularly the credibility of the research findings and conclusions.

### 7.5.2 Validity and reliability of findings

The criteria for assessing validity and reliability were established in the methodology chapter of this thesis. According to Bryman (2008) the credibility of the account that a researcher arrives at is going to determine its acceptability to others. This is very important and measures were taken to establish credibility. Not only were this but all four components of trustworthiness adhered to i.e. credibility, confirmability, transferability and dependability. Shenton (2004) suggested a few criteria to follow such as use of established research methods, triangulation via methods or data sources, frequent de-briefing of research process and a thick description of phenomenon under investigation. In addition to this it was suggested to provide description of sample used, number of participants, methods of data collection, details about interviews conducted, any problems in data collection or any stage of the research design process and recognition of limitations of the research. All this criteria were fully adhered to and detailed descriptions were provided that can be found in the methodology chapter of this thesis.

## 7.6 Limitations

In order to evaluate the importance of the findings of this study it is important to understand its limitations. While this study makes some very useful

contributions to the field of study, there are limitations and they are acknowledged. This section highlights the limitations of the present study.

#### 7.6.1 Lack of benchmarking studies

The aim of this research was to understand family business succession from the young generation perspective. This was a unique context and a new perspective as there were no studies that particularly understood succession from the potential inheritors' perspective particularly among the small Asian family businesses in Scotland. Moreover, since the emphasis was on understanding the socialisation process and its impact on career orientation, there were no previous experiences recorded. Hence there were no studies against which this research could be benchmarked. Omama Hatem, in her work, demonstrated that in such a case this limitation could be overcome by conducting an initial exploratory pilot study that would allow for some guidance for further research design (2012:323). She further suggests triangulation in order to benchmark the findings (Hatem, 2012). A triangulation of data sources was used i.e. benchmarking the findings against the views of Key informants such as community elders, social workers and selected First generation members.

#### 7.6.2 Limited number of respondents

Another limitation of the study could be that the findings and analysis of this study are based on a limited number of respondents. A small number of 21 interviews (three first generation, 13 Second generation and 5 Key Informants) were undertaken. This implies that the research findings are based on a small sample and hence not generalisable across a large population. The data gathered for this study is done using a small sample and is sensitive to context, meaning that data collected from a different size of sample or setting might give different findings. However, it should be pointed out that the aim of this study was not to conduct an entirely quantitative study with statistical validity. Instead, a

qualitative methodology was applied with in-depth personal interviews to explain the phenomenon of succession among Asian family businesses. This raises questions about the generalizability for the wider family business population and in particular the applicability of the theoretical framework outside the present research context of Asian small family businesses. However, the evidence suggests that the framework could be used to understand career pathway selection process within the wider Asian family business population.

### 7.6.3 Asian community assumed to be homogenous:

Another limitation of the study is the assumption that the Asian community is homogenous in its characteristics. The thesis acknowledges the fact that there are differences between the various intra-ethnic communities such as Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi as well as inter-religious differences such as between Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. Although this study acknowledges the heterogeneity of the community, it was assumed that these communities portrayed similar cultural characteristics. While designing the study it was acknowledged that there are subtle differences. However, specific community issues must be considered and incorporated when designing any future research.

### 7.6.4 Gender Bias

Finally though this study intended to understand views from men as well as women perhaps equally, it only managed to interview 4 out of 21 participants (three second generation and one key informant). This was mainly due to two reasons: one because of a lack of accessibility and two due to a culture of discouraging inter-mixing with women in private spaces. This meant that the three interviews were obtained from the second generation. One of the problems, as also described in the methodology chapter, was some male members of the family insisting to accompany the female member to the interview. One of the interviews had to be discarded because of the interview virtually 'hijacked' by the elder

brother of one of the female participants. However, this limitation, though couldn't be fully addressed, was partly overcome by triangulation of data sources in which community insiders called Key Informants were interviewed to provide verification of responses from the young generation. These key informants comprised of a retired school teacher, social workers and community elders.

## 7.7 Recommendations for Future Research

This section discusses what future directions could be taken regarding research in family business succession. There are three main areas in which research could be conducted in the future. One is testing the findings of this research, particularly to test the conceptual framework. Even within the Asian family business sector there is heterogeneity pertaining to different backgrounds namely Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi. It would be worthwhile to see if the framework is applicable to the wider Asian population. Second what further issues can be explored and raised by this thesis, and finally, research pertaining to the future of Asian family businesses in Britain in particular and the future of generally the wider Asian community in Britain.

Firstly, the conceptual framework could be tested to generate further explanations about the wider Asian family business population. Some of the questions that can be asked are:

- To what extent do heterogeneity factors effect socialisation and career development i.e. can the framework be used to determine career pathway selection among other Asian or ethnic communities?
- Do the various factors identified influence career orientation and succession in the same way or different? i.e. are particular factors stronger or weaker in terms of the degree of influence on succession in family businesses?



Secondly, another study could look at exploring further issues from the domains of research brought together in this study such as socialisation (sociology) and career development (vocational psychology) together with family businesses. How are issues such as race and ethnicity researched? Are there any methodologies that can be utilised such as ethnography using participant observations for data gathering or issues regarding ethics of research? What kind of findings might that generate?

Thirdly, research could be conducted pertaining to the future of Asian family businesses in particular and the future of generally the wider Asian community in Britain. A research question can be asked in this regard for example: How do Asian family business community ensure trans-generational entrepreneurial continuity in the presence or even absence of succession?

## 7.8 Summary

This section finally concludes this PhD thesis by summarising the key points from this chapter. First of all after giving a brief background of the study the chapter highlights the key contributions of the study. It outlines the key theoretical contributions mainly about the development an understanding of succession from the dual contexts of socialisation and career development, bringing together strands from sociology and vocational psychology. It then highlights the major contribution of uniquely integrating the three concepts of socialisation, career development and succession into an initial theoretical framework and uses this as a guideline for research design analysis. It then briefly discusses the emergent themes and findings from this present study.

The chapter then moves to empirical contributions mainly highlighting the need to understand the young generations' perspective in order to generate a renewed understanding and using life history approach and using of multiple sources of data in order to grasp the experiences about succession.

Further the chapter outlines the policy implications arising out of this research and recommendations for future policy development suggesting that policy needs to be sensitive to the changing scenario in the Asian business community with the second generation demonstrating 'reluctance' in carrying forward the family's business.

The next section evaluates the quality of the research conducted by revisiting the aims and objective and the research questions and particularly evaluates the claims the research made regarding validity and reliability of the findings and conclusion. This section also highlights the limitations of the research particularly in terms of the applicability of the theoretical framework outside of the Asian family business population, perhaps to the wider family business population. Also barriers faced during data collection are highlighted.

The final section details the suggestions for future research direction by mainly highlighting three main areas in which research could be conducted in the future. Firstly by testing the conceptual framework in a different setting and examining its applicability to other Asian ethnic minority business communities. Even within the Asian family business sector there is heterogeneity regarding different sub-ethnic backgrounds namely Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi. It would be worthwhile to see if the framework is applicable to the wider Asian population. Second what further issues can be explored and raised by this thesis. And finally, it is suggested to conduct research pertaining to the future of Asian family businesses in Britain in particular and the future of generally the wider Asian community in Britain.

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## APPENDIX

Definitions of terms: This section provides the definitions of some of the terms that are used in the thesis. It also specifies which precise definition is utilised in this research. These include definitions about Family Business, Succession, Socialisation and Career Orientation. A list of description of colloquial terms has been provided in the beginning of the thesis.

### 1. Family Businesses:

Author(s)	Definition
Donnelley (1964)	A company is considered a family business when it has been closely identified with at least two generations of a family and when this link has had a mutual influence on company policy and on the interests and the objective of the family.
File (1995)	A family business is one in which the cultural beliefs, goals, and behaviours of the family system intrude in the business system.
Howorth, Rose, Hamilton (2006)	The family owns enough of the equity to be able to exert control over strategy and also that it is involved in top management positions.
Alcorn, 1982	a profit-making concern is that is either a proprietorship, a partnership, or a corporation...If part of the stock is publicly owned, the family must also operate the business (p. 230),
Babicky, 1987	...is the kind of small business started by one or a few individuals who had an idea, worked hard to develop it. and achieved, usually with limited capital, growth while maintaining majority ownership of the enterprise (p. 25)
Barnes & Hershon, 1976	Controlling ownership is rested in the hands of an individual or of the members of a single family (p. 106)
Bernard, 1975	an enterprise which, in practice, is controlled by the members of a single family (p. 42)
Carsrud. 1994	closely-held firm's ownership and policy making are dominated by members of an "emotional kinship group" (p. W)
Churchill & Hatten, 1993	what is usually meant by family business.. . ,is either the ixrcurrence or the anticipation that a younger family member has or will assume control of the business from the elder (p. 52)
Davis. 1983	are those whose policy and direction arc subject to significant influence by one or more family units. This influence is exercised through ownership and sometimes through the participation of family members in management (p. 47)

Davis & Tagiuri. 1985	business in which two or more extended family members influence the direction of the business (quoted in Rothstein. 1992)
Dimckels & Frohlich. 1991	if family members own at least 60 percent of the equity (p. 152)
Donnelley, 1964	when it has been closely identified with at least two generations of a family and when this link has had a mutual influence on company policy and on the interests and objectives of the family (p. 94)
Dreux, 1990	are economic enterprises that happen to be controlled by one or more families (that have) a degree of influence in organisational governance sufficient to substantially influence or compel action (p. 226)
Gallo* Sveen. 1991	a business where a single family owns the majority of stock and has total control (p, 181)
Handler. 1989	an organization whose major operating decisions and plans for leadership succession are influenced by family members serving in management or on the board (p, 262)
Holland & Oliver. 1992	any business in which decisions regarding its ownership or management are influenced by a relationship to a family or families (p. 27)
Lansherg, Perrow, Rogolsky (1988)	a business in which members of a family have legal control over ownership (p, 2)
Leach, et al (1990)	a company in which more than 50 percent of the voting shares are controlled by one family, and/or a single family group effectively controls the firm, and/or a significant proportion of the firm's senior management is members from the same family (quoted by Astrachan, 1993. pp. 341-342)
Lyman. 1991	the ownership had to reside completely with family members, at least one owner had to be employed in the business, and one other family member had either to be employed in the business or to help out on a regular basis even if not officially employed (p. 304)
Prati & Davis. 1986	one in which two or more extended family members influence the direction of the business through the exercise of kinship ties, management roles, or ownership rights (chap. 3, p. 2)
Rosenblati. deMik. Anderson, & Johnson. 1985	any business in which majority ownership or control lies within a single family and in which two or more family members are or at some time were directly involved in the business (pp. 4-3)
Stern. 1986	owned and run by the members of one or two families (p, xxi)
Welsch. 1993	one in which ownership is concentrated, and owners or relatives of owners are involved in the management process, (p. 40)

### **The chosen definition of Family Business:**

According to Chrisman et al, (2003), Family business researchers define the family business before starting their research. Most definitions that are given of family business are operational in nature and serve the purpose, however, a generalised theoretical definition that potentially encompasses all types of family businesses including Ethnic Businesses is needed and only then will the ideological position that the authors propose about all research starting with a common definition may be justified.

Reiterating Howorth et al's (2006) viewpoint that 'the absence of consensus is potentially damaging for moving the study of family business forward' and that a 'more general and less precise' definition must be used as a starting point (p229). So according to Howorth et al (2006), a business could be defined as a family business if 'The family owns enough of the equity to be able to exert control over strategy and also that it is involved in top management positions'.

Also the definition proposed by (Chrisman et al, 2003) is, 'the vision held for the firm by a family or a small group of families and the intention to shape and pursue this vision, potentially across generations of the same family or group of families'.

### **2. Succession:**

Broadly speaking, succession in family business has been understood as leadership transitions from one generation to next. Below is the table of various definitions used in the previous literature to explain family business succession.

Author(s)	Definition
(Barnes and Hershon, 1976)	An orderly transition from one generation to the next.
(Westhead & Cowling, 1998)	An event characterized by the moment when the torch is passed to the new leadership.
Howorth and Ali (2001)	Succession is a process that involves planning, selection of heir and preparation of heir.
(Howorth, Rose, Hamilton & Westhead, 2010)	Explored alternative to transfer of ownership and control and suggested selling the firm through a trade sale, management buy-in or management buy-out, listing the firm or liquidation.
(Dahlan & Klieb, 2011)	An orderly transition of management and leadership from one generation to another within the same family.
(Morris, Williams & Nel, 1996)	Succession in family firms includes the dynamics that precede and lead up to the actual transition,

	as well as the aftermath of the transition and its implications for the various involved parties.
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### **The chosen definition of Succession for this thesis:**

Although there are many common factors in all these definitions, the definition that is chosen to be used in the present thesis contains a transition of ownership and management control of the family business to the younger generation. This may include starting a new business or buying other running businesses to include in the family business specifically to accommodate young generation family members and to avoid sibling conflicts.

### **3. Socialisation:**

Author(s)	Definition
Thirumalai (1988)	Socialisation is considered as the process through which an individual acquires the knowledge, values and customs of a society in order to live as a member of the society.
(Ogburn & Nimkoff, 1953)	Biological Heredity ushers the infant actor onto the stage where physical environment, the group and culture have set. The dramatic action now begins and the new born baby is gradually transformed into a social person. The term used by sociologists to designate this transformation is 'Socialisation'.
Clausen (1968)	Socialisation is defined as means by which social and cultural continuity are attained; a process that expects the individual to behave in normative ways.
Grusec & Hastings (2007)	Socialisation as a way in which the individuals are assisted in becoming members of one or more social groups.
Garcia et al (2006)	The term socialisation refers to both a social end product and to the changes that occur by way of social interactions. Moreover, they see socialisation as a set of processes that help an individual to function within the different social situations.
Maccoby (2007:13)	Define Socialisation as 'the processes whereby naïve individuals are taught skills, behaviour patterns, values, motivations needed for competent functioning in the culture in which the child is growing up'.

### **The definition of Socialisation chosen in this thesis:**

This thesis understands socialisation as the broader process that helps an individual to function within the society. This means interacting and integrating with various social groups such as family, peers, cultural or religious groups. Grusec & Hastings' (2007) and Garcia et al's (2006) definitions come closest in the respect that it broadly describes the socialisation process as a process that enables individuals to function and interact within different social situations.

### **4. Career Orientation/Career Development/Career Choice:**

Career is increasingly believed to be one part of a larger point of view on life. Concepts such as work life balance are of equal if not more importance than the previous notions of a successful career being the ultimate source of satisfaction in life and, as Gerber et al (2009) say, social values are moving towards more autonomy and a higher concern for work-life balance. Three terms are used to define various aspects of career. These are career orientation, career development and career choices. These terms, though, refer to the same phenomenon of selecting a vocation, it could be categorised into three separate parts such as above. Below are precise definitions of these terms as understood in the context of the present thesis.

<b>Career Development</b>	<p>Career Development theory was developed by Donald Super who included insights from development psychology. This forwarded previous understandings developed by Ginzberg et al, 1951, who described the development process as spread out over a number of years starting from early childhood to initial stages of employment. Blau et al, 1956, considered a more inclusive framework in which social interactions (experiences) are considered as an essential part of an individual's career development.</p> <p>Career development is broadly understood as an individual's growth and development over a period of time and influenced by both external and internal factors such as family, culture, self-identity, personality, religion, gender, age, ethnic origin or society. According to Brown (2002), career development is about how people develop certain traits, personalities and self-precepts and how these developments influence (career) decision making. Broadly speaking, career development is a lifelong</p>
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	process that leads an individual to choose a specific career for themselves in alignment with their backgrounds and experiences as well as with their preferred future.
<b>Career Choice</b>	Although career choice and career development are used interchangeably in the literature, in this present thesis, career choice is generally understood as an outcome or a specific choice of vocation which may be a result of a career development process that is undertaken over an individual's lifetime. It is an outcome of a socialisation process and is influenced by numerous internal and external factors as described in the above discussion of career development.
<b>Career Orientation</b>	<p>This is a broader term that signifies which way an individual is broadly inclined. In the context of the present thesis about family business succession, this may refer to an individual from a family business background inclined towards joining the family business, entering employment or oriented towards starting his/her own new business separate from the family business.</p> <p>According to Gerber et al, (2009), 'Career orientation reflects an individual's preferences regarding particular career-related opportunities, circumstances and career types'.</p>

Overall, the three terms provide an insight about the stages of one's career growth and pathway. Career development may lead to understanding how an individual is oriented in terms of career and which may thereby provide an understanding of which specific career or vocational choice an individual makes.